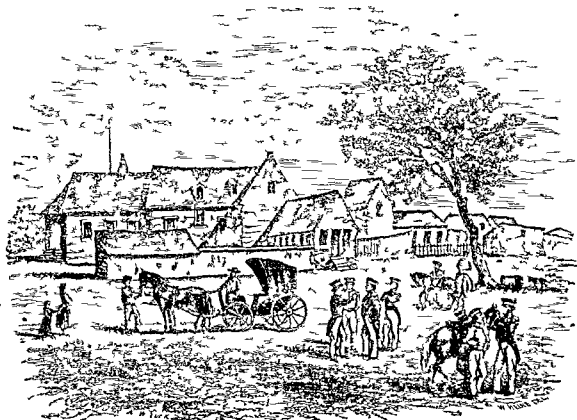


FROM A SKETCH BY J. C. B. B. B.

COM PERRY PAYING HIS FAREWELL VISIT TO THE IMPERIAL COMMISSIONERS AT SIMODA

Printed by J. C. B. B.

In viewing the miserable building where, for more than five years, this extraordinary man resided and where he breathed his last it is difficult to suppress a deep feeling of the instability of earthly glory. The places of France and the farm house of Longwood, Napoleon in his splendor and Napoleon on his death bed, are suggestive of reflections which will tempt the thoughtful silently to moralize. But, humble as was this residence of the dethroned Emperor, it had been the abode of fallen greatness, and that should have protected it from desecration. Longwood has been permitted to fall into decay, and the apartments which the Emperor once occupied are now but a common stable. The property has been rented by the crown to a farmer of the island, and he seems to have been permitted to make what use he pleased of the tenements upon it.



Old House Longwood, St. Helena

Without here questioning the necessity as a measure of state policy, for confining the great and ambitious disturber of the peace of Europe in a place whence escape was impossible, admitting the force of all the arguments by which the act at the time was justified to the world yet one cannot look on Longwood without feeling that there was more of annoyance and insult in executing the purposes of the English government than was necessary, or than the government probably intended. At this day there are many Englishmen who think that England was singularly unfortunate in the choice of her jailors.

A view of the grounds forcibly suggests this thought. Surrounded as the prescribed limits were by successive lines of sentinels with a regiment encamped within musket shot of the dwelling with every avenue to it closely guarded by pickets of soldiers with the cliffs which bound the ground toward the sea perfectly inaccessible it is impossible not to see at a

glance, that there was not the remotest chance of escape. Might there not then have been some relaxation of minute and indelicate personal supervision, at least in the day time, when the island was surrounded by British cruisers, and the numerous forts fully garrisoned? Was it necessary for security to make the captive feel incessantly that he was watched?

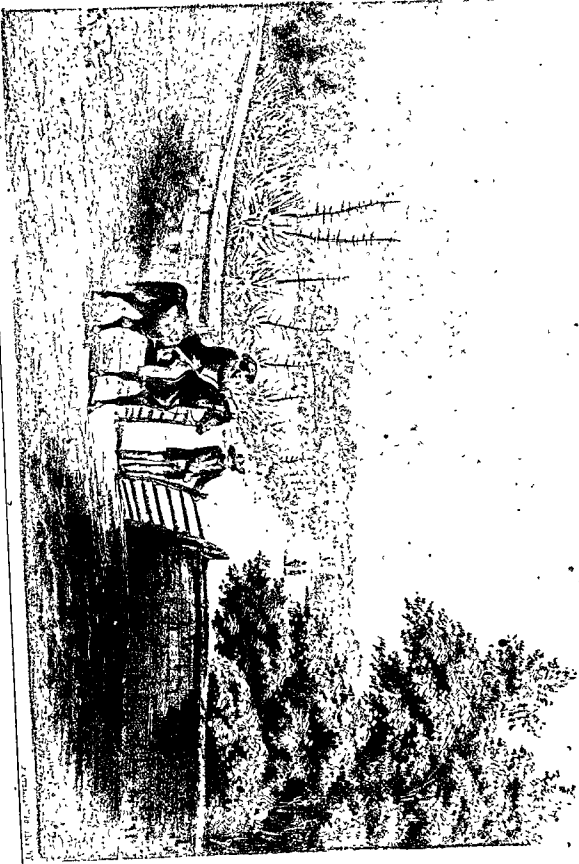
The British ministry had enjoined the safe custody of the prisoner, unfortunately they left it to the jailors to settle all the details of the mode of keeping him.

The tomb in which Napoleon was placed has lost some of its interest from the removal of his body to France. He died on the 1st of May, 1821. On the 4th of October, 1840, his remains were embarked on the French frigate *Belle Poule*, which had been sent, under the command of the Prince de Joinville, for the purpose of transporting them to France.

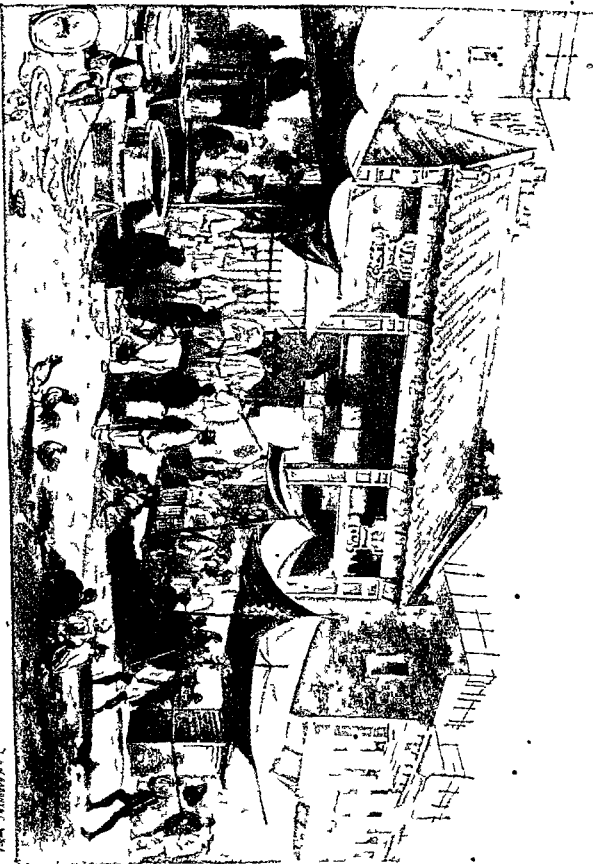
The inhabitants of St. Helena seem to be industrious, but the general opinion of the officers of the ship, founded on their experience, was, that in their rambles over the world, they had never met with more polite and unscrupulous extortioners. It is said to be the practice of householders to entertain unsuspecting strangers with great seeming kindness, and then to mulct them most unmercifully for the supposed hospitality. This may be slander, but an incident occurred while the ship was at Jamestown, which leaves no doubt that proffered favors are sometimes done with the expectation of receiving for them—a “consideration.” One of the lieutenants of the ship was the victim of excessive civility. Contemplating a visit to Longwood, he had engaged a horse at the livery stable, which, on landing, he found saddled and waiting for him according to appointment. He was about mounting, when a citizen of Jamestown, whom he had casually met the day before, stepped up and told him that he had a horse, much superior to that he was about to mount, which was altogether at his service, and that he would send for it. Consequently the hired horse was dismissed, with a compensation to the disappointed attendant, and that of the polite friend was accepted, unfortunately, however, proving to be inferior to the one dismissed. However, he was used for a few hours, and returned with a *douceur* to the servant who received him.

The same evening the owner of the horse visited the ship, when the lieutenant was profuse of civility and thanks, and after entertaining him, pressed upon him the acceptance of some little presents, quite equal in value to the hire of the horse. These gifts were received in such manner as induced the officer to think there was still something more wanting, when he said, “Will you allow me to pay for the use of your horse?” and was answered, “Well, I am glad you were pleased with the animal, and you need only pay me the usual charge of three dollars.” It was immediately handed to him, when he coolly offered his services at any future time, and said, with a peculiarly knowing look, “If, when you again visit the island, you will place yourself under my guidance, I will put you through all charges at half price.” Then politely wishing a good voyage to all on board, he passed into the boat, with the neck of a wine bottle protruding from one pocket, and a liberal supply of Havanas filling the other, the offerings of his grateful friend, the lieutenant.

At the time of Donaghy's residence, the island was strongly fortified and fully garrisoned, and indeed was deemed impregnable. But this was before the introduction of armed steamers into the navies of the world. The island is strongly fortified on the north side, while the south, exposed to the whole strength of the trade winds, is on that account almost inaccessible. But the batteries were constructed to prevent the approach of sailing vessels, and thus they might probably not, my wish, as they are on the high cliffs commanding the only ways by which sailing vessels can approach.

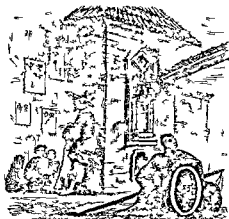


FISH MARKET CANTON



CHAPTER VI.

HOSPITABLE TREATMENT AT MACAO—USAGES OF THE FOREIGN MERCHANTS TOWARD VISITORS—DEPRESSED CONDITION OF MACAO—DESCRIPTION OF THE PLACE—JUNK BOATS AND GIRLS WHO MINAGE THEM—CAVE OF CAMBENS—DEPARTURE OF MISSISSIPPI FROM MACAO—SARATOGA LEFT TO BRING S R WILLIAMS THE INTERPRETER—DIFFICULTIES OF NAVIGATION FROM HONG KONG TO THE MOUTH OF YANG TSE KEANG—ENTRANCE OF THE RIVER DANGEROUS—SUSQUEHANNA PLYMOUTH AND SUPPLY ALL AGROUND—MISSISSIPPI SAVED BY THE POWER OF HER ENGINES ONLY—DESCRIPTION OF SHANGHAI—ITS INLAND TRADE—CULTIVATION OF THE COUNTRY—POPULATION OF THE CITY—VISIT OF THE COMMODORE TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE CITY—CHINESE REBELLION—ITS EFFECTS—PLYMOUTH LEFT AT SHANGHAI TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS—DEPARTURE FOR GREAT LEEU CUEN—ARRIVAL OF THE SQUADRON AT THE CAPITAL NANKING—THE SARATOGA HAVING JOINED AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOR



On leaving Canton, Mr Spooner, of the house of Russell & Co, offered the Commodore the use of the magnificent residence at Macao belonging to that firm, accordingly he, together with three of his officers, took up his quarters in their sumptuous dwelling. The Commodore and his company, thinking that they were to be their own providers, their caterer, one of the officers of the squadron, was very particular in ordering the head servant in charge of the establishment to procure this and that, and no sooner was a wish expressed than it was promptly attended to. Great, then, was the surprise, on the completion of the visit, to find that not a penny would be received

beyond the ordinary gratuity by that prince of major-domos. He said that his employers were always happy to have their house occupied by their friends, and he expressed a hope that the Commodore and his companions would not think of going elsewhere on their next visit to Macao.

When a guest is once received into one of these hospitable mansions he finds himself quite at home in the enjoyment of the most agreeable society, for it is a custom of the merchants of the East to extend to strangers of respectability a hospitality that is quite unreserved. Such, indeed, is the freedom of the guest that he has only to order whatever he may require and his demand is complied with at once. The master does not trouble himself about the matter, but

he is, for the most part of the time, away about his business, and the whole concern of the household devolves upon the major-domo, whose duty it is to satisfy every want. There is a very convenient official of these establishments, termed a compiador, whose vocation it is to pay all the bills accruing from the purchases and incidental expenses of the guests, who, however, of course, refund what has been paid.

While enjoying the luxury of these oriental establishments, one, in fact, might fancy himself in a well-organized French hotel, as he has only to express a wish to have it gratified, were it not that he has nothing to pay in the former beyond the usual gratuities to servants, while in the latter he is mulcted roundly for every convenience.

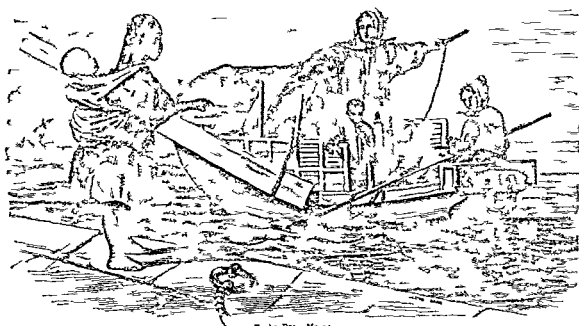
There is not much at present to interest the visitor at Macao, as it is but a ghost of its former self. There is almost a complete absence of trade or commerce. The harbor is deserted, and the sumptuous dwellings and storehouses of the old merchants are comparatively empty, while the Portuguese who inhabit the place are but rarely seen, and seem listless and unoccupied. An occasional Parsee, in high crowned cap and snowy robe, a venerable merchant, and here and there a Jesuit priest, with his flock of youthful disciples, may be seen, but they are only as the decaying monuments of the past.

At one time, however, the town of Macao was one of the most flourishing marts of the East. When the Portuguese obtained possession, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, they soon established it as the centre of a wide commerce with China and other oriental countries. Its origin is attributed to a few Portuguese merchants belonging to Lampago, who were allowed to resort there and establish some temporary huts for shelter and the drying of damaged goods. Hue, the Chinese traveller, gives a different account, he states that the Portuguese were allowed to settle by the Emperor, in return for the signal service of capturing a famous pirate who had long ravaged the coasts. From an humble beginning, the settlement gradually arose to an imposing position as a commercial place, for which it was greatly indebted to the monopoly it enjoyed of eastern commerce. It has, however, declined, and is now a place of very inconsiderable importance and trade. The town is situated upon a peninsula at the southward of the island of Macao.

It is sufficiently picturesque in appearance, built as it is upon the acclivities of the rising ground about the harbor, with its gay looking white houses, which overhang the terraces that bound the shore and look out upon the sea. The houses of the old merchants, though they now bear some appearance of neglect, yet attest, by the spaciousness of the apartments, and the luxuriousness of their appointments, the former opulence of the Portuguese traders. The pleasant walks about the circuit of the neighboring hills and the Praya invite the visitor to strengthen himself in cheerful exercise. The dull look of the place is somewhat relieved in the summer time, when the foreign residents of Canton and Hong Kong resort there to bathe in the waters of Bishop's Bay, and to recreate in the enjoyment of the healthful sea air of the place.

The harbor is not suitable for large vessels, which anchor in Macao roads, several miles from the town. It is, however, though destitute of every appearance of commercial activity, always enlivened by the fleet of Yanka boats which pass, conveying passengers to and fro, between the land and the Canton and Hong Kong steamers. The Chinese dandi, in gay costume, as they pull their light craft up on the smooth and gently swelling surface of the bay, present a lively aspect and as they are looked upon in the distance, from the verandahs above the Praya,

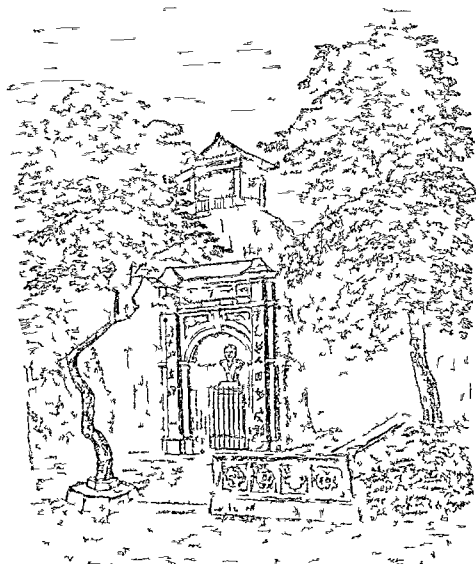
which command a view of the bay, have a fairy like appearance which a nearer approach serves however to change into a more substantial and less airy reality



Tanka Boat Macao



The Cave of Camoens, where the Portuguese poet is supposed to have written a portion of his *Lusiad* is a place of universal interest and resort at Macao. It is picturesquely situated upon the summit of a small hill on the margin of the inner harbor. Large granite rocks are here gathered in a confused cluster, which form a natural cave from the entrance of which

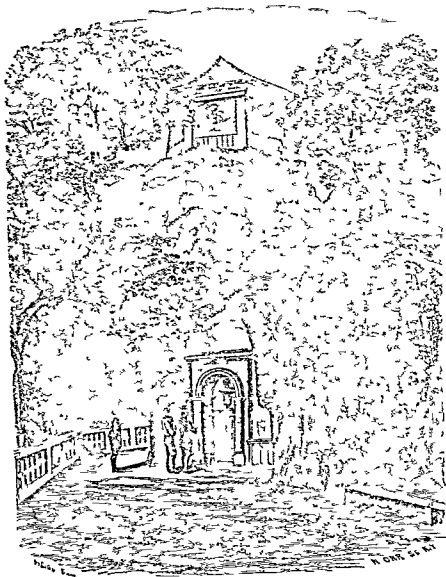


The Cave of Camoens, Macao.

there is a wide prospect of the surrounding country. The terraces, the pagoda and other monumental trees in the foreground are all in groups, which the rocky cave is crowned by. The entrance is a low archway, with trees growing round it, and a small shrine or altar in the center. The entrance is flanked by two large trees, and the whole scene is surrounded by a low wall. The entrance is flanked by two large trees, and the whole scene is surrounded by a low wall.

Above the cave is a small temple, and there is a small shrine or altar in the center. The entrance is flanked by two large trees, and the whole scene is surrounded by a low wall. The entrance is flanked by two large trees, and the whole scene is surrounded by a low wall.

Camões' visit to Macao was during his banishment from Portugal, in consequence of his pertinacious courtship of a lady of rank, whose parents did not affect an alliance with the poet, who, although of a respectable family, was poor, and looked upon as an uncertain adventurer. In 1551, he proceeded to Goa, in India, where he again involved himself in trouble by writing



Camões Cave Macao—Rear View

his "Absurdities of India" and was banished to the Moluccas, and in the course of his exile he resorted frequently to Macao, which was a favorite residence of the poet. The cave was his chosen spot of retirement, where in its "sweet retired solitude," he meditated his great work, the *Lusiad*. Camões returned to Portugal, but only to live in misery and die in an hospital.

The interior of the island of Macao, which is exclusively cultivated by the Chinese, yields a variety of vegetable productions with which the town is supplied. The whole population is about 20,000, and of the c. 13,000 belong to the peninsula and town, where of more than one half the inhabitants are Chinese, and in the interior of the island this race comprises the whole. The

government of the town is in the hands of the Portuguese. The Portuguese have a college, churches and various educational, benevolent and ecclesiastical institutions in the town where the Chinese also have their peculiar establishments and a temple.

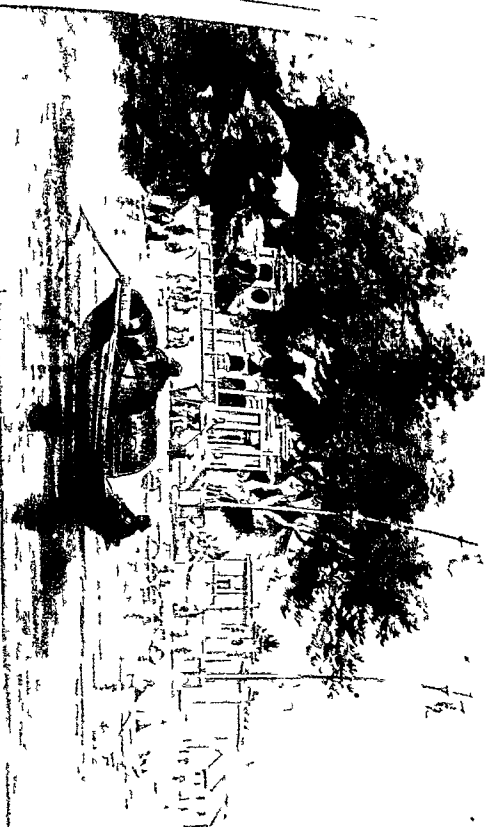
On the evening of April 25th, the *Mississippi* was again under weigh, leaving the *Su dōga* at Macao to await the arrival of Dr. S. W. Williams, of Canton, who had been appointed interpreter to the expedition. The course was now directed for Shanghai.

The navigation of the coast of China, from Hong Kong to the mouth of the Yang-tse Kiang is, at most seasons, difficult and perplexing. The frequent tides and irregular tides and currents make it very annoying to those who are strangers to the navigation, when close in with the coast. Fortunately, however, vessels are always, when near the land, on anchoring ground, and although they are sometimes obliged to drift to, in situations exposed to winds from the sea, it is better to resort to the anchor than to drift blindly among groups of islands and reefs. If the weather be moderately clear, vessels may run from island to island, and thus navigate the coast with perfect safety and convenience, but the fogs which prevail at certain seasons scarcely allow of this advantage. During the passages of the *Susquehanna* and *Mississippi* from Hong Kong to Shanghai neither had a meridian observation of the sun.

The entrance to the Yang-tse Kiang, which leads to the commercial city of Shanghai, is obstructed on either side by shoals, which make it dangerous for vessels not having pilots. On the north side is a shoal called the North Sand, extending some six leagues westward from the main land, and on the south side is a parallel shoal, called the South Sand, projecting nearly as far from the shore on that side. The outer extremities of these shoals are beyond sight of the main land. The channel between the two shoals may be estimated at about two miles in width, and there are no light-houses, beacons, or buoys to indicate to strangers the entrance. A small islet called Guttsa island is the only indication, for the bearings of which, and other directions for entering the channel, the nautical reader is referred to the Appendix.

The rise and fall in the Yang-tse-Kiang averages about ten feet, and vessels are obliged to find their way hap-hazard into the channel, or perchance run upon one of the sister sands. Numbers of vessels resorting to Shanghai are lost, and still nothing has been done to remedy the evil. The Commodore was convinced, on visiting this river with the *Mississippi*, that until proper landmarks and beacons are established to indicate the entrance, it must be an unlit resort for any but the smaller vessels of a squadron, and consequently, an unfit place for a naval depot. The *Susquehanna*, the *Plymouth*, and the *Supply*, all grounded on going in, and the last remained flumping on the North Sand twenty-two hours, and was only saved from total loss by a providential change of wind. The *Mississippi* was carried, in the confusion of her pilot, out of the channel, but by good fortune did not stop, though she ran into nineteen feet water, one foot less than her draft, on the South Sand, but the power of the engines proved her salvation. The wealthy foreign merchants established at Shanghai, who are gathering a plentiful harvest from the increasing trade of the place, should contribute some of their thousands toward rendering the navigation less dangerous. It is but justice to say that a willingness has been expressed by some of these gentlemen to subscribe liberally toward the accomplishment of the desired object, and, in fact, a boat had been ordered to be built in the United States, for the purpose of towing vessels up and down the river.

Shanghai is built up on the left bank of the river Wampoon, a branch of the Yang-tse Kiang. Near the mouth of the Wampoon is the village of Woosung, the station where the foreign merchants



CHINESE TEMPLE MACAO

From the water & shore

100 W.S. 1000 1000000

anchor Two persons were seen watching the movements of the squadron from the foot of the flagstaff, and, through a tele cope, numbers could be seen leaving the town under white umbrellas

The ships had not been at anchor two hours, before, notwithstanding the rain, a boat came off with two officials On reaching the deck, they made many profound salutations, and presented a folded red card of Japanese paper, about a yard long The principal personage wore a loose salmon-colored robe of very fine grass cloth, while the dress of the other was of similar fashion, but of a blue color On their heads were oblong caps of bright yellow, they had blue gashes tied around their waists, and white sandals upon their feet Their beards were long and black, though thin, and their ages were, seemingly, some thirty five or forty years They had the Japanese cast of countenance, and in complexion were a dusky olive Who they were, or what the purpose of their visit, was not immediately known, as there happened to be no interpreter, at the time of their visit, on board the *Susquehanna*, to which ship they came, but one of the Commodore's Chinese servants was summoned who understood the characters on their card sufficiently to explain that the visit was merely a *chin chin*, or complimentary salutation on arrival The Commodore, however, acting on his previously determined plan declined seeing them, or receiving any other than one of the principal dignitaries of the island, and they accordingly returned to the shore They had, no doubt, been sent to make observations, and, without committal, to ascertain what they could of the strangers that the policy and treatment of the authorities of the island might be shaped according to circumstances

Scarcely had they gone before Dr Bettelheim came on board in a native boat, and such were the relations in which he stood to the islanders that he hailed the arrival of the squadron with delight, and manifested no little excitement of manner He was conducted to the Commodore's cabin, where he remained for two or three hours, and in the course of the interview it appeared that he had never heard even of the intended American expedition, that a year and a half had elapsed since any foreign vessel had been at Naphu, and that he was almost beside himself with joy Grog and biscuit were given to his boatmen, and in their exhilaration, when they started for the shore, they contrived to carry the missionary some three miles up the coast

The next day, the 27th, the shores looked if possible, more brilliantly green and beautiful than ever, and all on board were struck with the loveliness of their appearance About seven o'clock, four boats came off, bringing presents for the ship, in one of these were the two visitors of the day before, who brought another card, seemingly a list of the presents He of the salmon colored robe had given his name, on his first visit, as *Wang-ta-ching*, probably the Lew Chew pronunciation of *Wang-tai-ia*, or "his excellency, Wang" The presents brought consisted of a bullock several pigs, a white goat, some fowls, vegetables, and eggs These were peremptorily refused, nor were those who brought them permitted to come on board After waiting a short time, they returned to the town, with an evident expression of anxiety and uneasiness on their countenances At this time it was observed in the squadron that several of the junks put out from the inner harbor and sailed to the northward, as it was conjectured, for Japan Some of them passed quite near to the ships to gratify their curiosity by a closer inspection of such large vessels The junks were somewhat like those of the Chinese, and, like them, had two great eyes inserted in the bows, as if to see the way Undoubtedly, the presence of the squadron had created great alarm among the junks, for no force, half as large, had ever

been seen at Napha before, and probably some of the junks had been dispatched to Japan with the news of the squadron's appearance at Lew Chew

A boat was sent off for Dr Bettelheim, and he, with the Rev Mr Jones, chaplain of the Mississippi, and Mr Wells Williams, the interpreter, breakfasted with the Commodore. An exploration of the island was resolved on by the chief. It was to consist of three parties, two by sea, and one into the interior. The former were to survey, respectively, the eastern and western coasts, the latter to make a thorough examination of the interior, and to collect specimens of its animals, minerals, and vegetables. The Commodore also resolved to procure a house on shore, and gave notice to Mr Brown, the artist in charge of the daguerreotype apparatus, that he must prepare his materials, occupy the building, and commence the practice of his art.

On the 27th, the Commodore gave permission to the masters' mates to take the gig and pull about in the harbor, with a prohibition, however, of landing or communicating with the natives. Mr Bayard Taylor was of the party, and we prefer to give our narrative in his own words, perfectly satisfied that we shall thus most gratify the reader *

"The crew were Chinamen, wholly ignorant of the use of oars, and our trip would have been of little avail, had not the sea been perfectly calm. With a little trouble we succeeded in making them keep stroke, and made for the coral reef which separates the northern from the outer channel. The tide was nearly out, and the water was very shoal on all the approaches to the reef. We found, however, a narrow channel, winding between the groves of mimic foliage, and landed on the spongy rock, which rose about a foot above the water. Here the little pools which seamed the surface were alive with crabs, snails, star fish, sea prickles, and numbers of small fish of the intensest blue color. We found several handsome shells clinging to the coral, but all our efforts to secure one of the fish failed. The tide was ebbing so fast that we were obliged to return for fear of grounding the boat. We hung for some time over the coral banks, enraptured with the beautiful forms and colors exhibited by this wonderful vegetation of the sea. The coral grew in rounded banks, with clear, deep spaces of water between, resembling, in miniature, ranges of hills covered with autumnal forests. The loveliest tints of blue, violet, pale green, yellow, and white gleamed through the waves, and all the varied forms of vegetable life were grouped together, along the edges of cliffs and precipices, hanging over the chasms worn by currents below. Through those paths, and between the stems of the coral groves, the blue fish shot hither and thither, like arrows of the purest lapis lazuli, and others of a dazzling emerald color, with tails and fins tipped with gold, eluded our chase like the green bird in the Arabian story. Far down below, in the dusky depth of the waters, we saw, now and then, some large brown fish, hovering stealthily about the entrances to the coral groves, as if lying in wait for their bright little inhabitants. The water was so clear that the eye was deceived as to its depth, and we seemed, now to rest on the branching tops of some climbing forest, now to hang suspended as in mid air, between the crests of two opposing ones. Of all the wonders of the sea which have furnished food for poetry and fable this was assuredly the most beautiful."

"We succeeded in obtaining a number of fine specimens of coral. The tips of the branches were soft and glutinous, and the odor exhalant from them was exceedingly offensive."

*It is due to Mr Taylor here to state that we draw the principal part of the story of the first visit to Lew Chew from his journal and are glad often to adopt his language as we can frame none better. Commodore Perry has desired that we should do so. His own journal is less full in some particulars of this part of the voyage because he relied on Mr Taylor's (which he knew would be accurate and careful) to amplify topics on which he made but brief notes. The Commodore has particularly directed that a statement to be made that justice may be done to Mr Taylor for the services he rendered.

On the 30th, it was rumored on board that some of the principal authorities on shore intended on that day to visit the *Susquehannah*. Mr Williams, the interpreter, came on board and took up permanently his quarters in the ship, and a boat was dispatched for Dr Bettelheim, to be present on the occasion.

On the preceding day, Lieutenant Contee and Mr Williams went on shore to pay a visit to the then supposed governor of Naphr, since ascertained to be the mayor. They were received in a very polite and friendly manner, though the mayor expressed his deep sense of mortification that his presents had been refused. Lieutenant Contee explained that it was the uniform practice of our government not to accept such presents for her ships, and that (in consequence of our custom) the offering of them not unfrequently subjected the commander and officers to mortification, as their refusal seemed like an ungrateful return for offered courtesy, and that in this case no disrespect was intended.

About one o'clock, a very ordinary native barge, containing the Lew Chew dignitaries, came alongside. The marines were in uniform, and every preparation had been made on board to show them respect and produce impressive effect. One of the inferior officers came first up the gangway with the card of his superior, which Mr Williams the interpreter, received and read, the officer then returned, and the regent of the kingdom of Lew Chew, a venerable old man, in a few minutes appeared, supported by two of his officers. Captains Buchanan and Adams received him at the gangway, and were saluted by the regent after the fashion of his country. His hands were joined upon his breast, while his body and knees were bent very profoundly, and his head was slightly turned away from the person he addressed. The prince, it was said, was a lad of eleven years old, and was represented to be ill. The old gentleman acted as regent for him. Six or eight other officers and some dozen subordinates followed the regent to the deck. A salute of three guns was then fired, which so startled some of the Lew Chew officers that they dropped upon their knees.

One of the most striking features in the visitors was their general imperturbable gravity. It was indeed plain that they had intense curiosity, not unmingled with considerable alarm, but they were careful to preserve the most dignified demeanor. They were conducted to the captain's cabin, and thence shown over the ship. They observed every thing with great gravity, but when they reached the ponderous engine, their assumed indifference was fairly overcome, and it was evident that they were conscious of having encountered in it something very far beyond their comprehension. They were much quicker of perception, however, than the Chinese, as well as more agreeable in features, and much more neat and tidy in apparel.

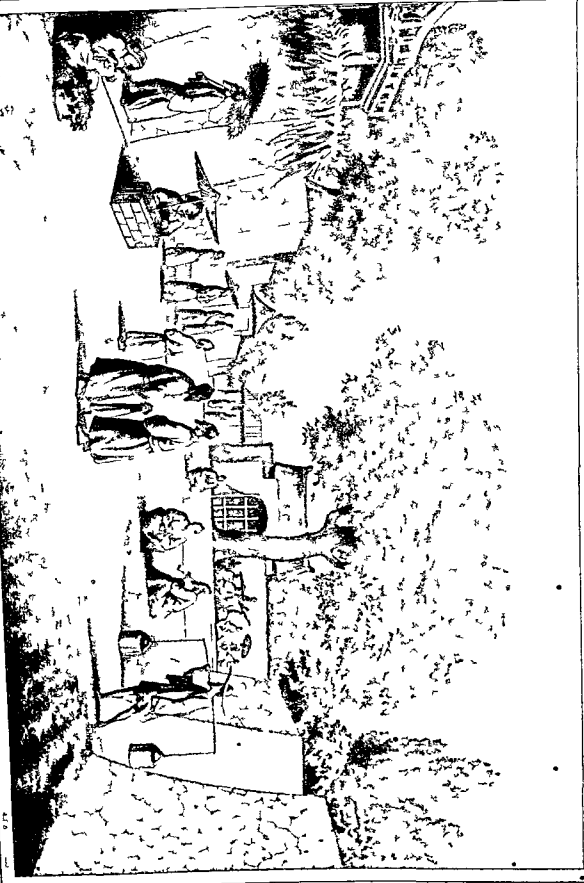
Up to this time they had not seen the Commodore. He had remained secluded in solitary dignity, in his own cabin. It was not meet that he should be made too common to the eyes of the vulgar. All this, of course, was mere matter of policy for the time being as the Commodore was no very unusual sight to the officers and men of the squadron. The visitors were, however, informed that they were now to be conducted into his presence, and were accordingly taken to his cabin. Just as the regent reached the head of the steps the band struck up a lively air, but the dignified old man passed on without even casting an eye on the musicians. To him it was doubtless a solemn occasion. The Commodore received and entertained his guests most handsomely, and during the interview of an hour and a half between himself and the regent, assurances of amity and good will were exchanged between the parties. On the retirement of the regent he was escorted with great respect to the ship's side, and on his departure received honors similar to those that had been tendered on his arrival.

Among other matters that occurred at the meeting between the regent and the Commodore, the latter informed his guest that he should do himself the honor to return his visit, *at the place*, in the city of Shench or Shun, on the following Monday week, (June 1st) This information caused some consultation and discussion between the regent and his counsellors, but the Commodore put an end to it by stating that he had fully made a determination to go to the palace on that day, and should surely execute it. He further added that he should expect such a reception as became his rank and position as commander of the squadron and diplomatic representative of the United States in those regions, and with a distinct understanding, if not acquiescence, on the part of the regent, to this effect, he took his departure.

One result of the visit was very agreeable to the officers, for permission was immediately given them to go on shore, accompanied with a request that they would in no case intrude themselves where their presence might seem to be disagreeable to the natives. They very soon availed themselves of the privilege, and a party (of which Mr. Taylor was one) landed at the foot of the rock upon which Dr. Bettelheim had erected his flag-staff. They found the shore to be coral rock covered with a dense and luxuriant vegetation, and about the distance of twenty yards from flood tide mark, the gardens of the natives commenced, divided from each other by coral walls and bristling hedges of succa and cactus. Mr. Taylor thus describes this his first landing on Lew Chew. "Several groups of Lew Chewans watched our landing, but slowly retired as we approached them. The more respectable, distinguished by the silver pins in their hair, made to us profound salutations. The lower classes wore a single garment of brown cotton or grass-cloth, and the children were entirely naked. Even in the humblest dwellings there was an air of great neatness and order. Most of them were enclosed within high coral walls, in the midst of a small plot of garden land, some of which contained thriving patches of tobacco, maize, and sweet potatoes.

"Threading the winding lanes of the suburb for a short distance, we came into the broad paved road which leads from Napla to Shendi. It is an admirable thoroughfare, almost equal to the macadamized roads of England. The walls on either hand of coral rock are jointed together with great precision. No mortar is used in their construction, but the stones are so well fitted, (very much in the manner of the cyclopean walls of Italy,) that the whole appears, at a little distance, to be one mass. We here came upon parties from the Mississippi and Saratoga. The natives collected in crowds to see us pass, filling back as we approached, and closing behind us. They were under the authority of several persons, who had evidently received a special appointment to watch us. Among them were many fine, venerable figures—old men with flowing beards and aspects of great dignity and serenity, but no sooner were any of these addressed than they retreated with great haste. The houses were all closed, and not a female was to be seen. The roofs were of red tiles, of excellent manufacture, and thus, with the dark green foliage of the trees which studded the city, the walls topped with cactus, and the occasional appearance of a palm or banana, reminded me of the towns in Sicily.


"As we entered the thickly inhabited portion of Napla, the road passed over the foot of a low hill, by regularly graded steps, and then descended to the inner harbor, where the Japanese junks lay at anchor. From this harbor a creek, or estuary, almost dry at low water, extends eastward into the island. The market place is in this portion of the town. It was deserted, like the streets, except by the inhabitants of two or three large tents, which were closed, except a narrow aperture. On our asking (by signs) for water, the people went to these tents and



THE S. V. J.

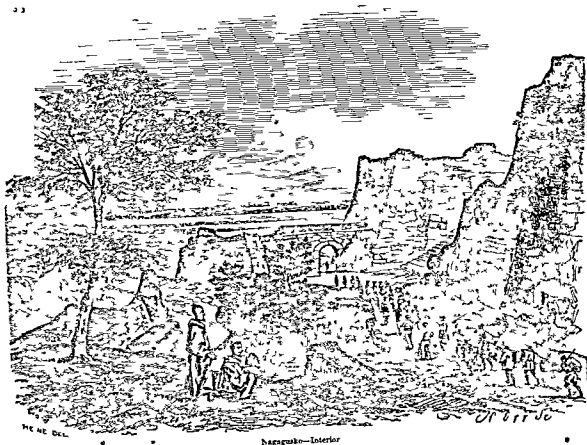
STREET IN NANYANG

procured some in a square wooden ladle, exactly similar to the one used by the Turcomans, in Asia Minor. I did not go down to look at the Japánic junks but with some others followed the course of the creek. Two of the police officers—as we took them to be—stuck to us, and whenever we paused motioned to us to take the road which would have led us back to the beach.

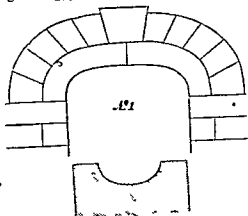




The material was limestone, and the masonry of admirable construction. The stones, some of which were cubes of four feet square, were so carefully hewn and jointed that the absence of any mortar or cement did not seem to impair the durability of the work. There were two remarkable points about the work. The arches were double, the lower course being formed of



two stones hewn into almost a parabolic curve, and meeting in the centre, over which was the regular Egyptian arch, with its key-stone, as represented in the annexed outline, No 1



The other peculiarity was, that in place of bastions, there were square projections of masonry, presenting a concave front, (No 2,) which would catch and concentrate the force of a cannon ball, rather than ward it off. But this fortress must have been erected many centuries before the use of fire-arms of any kind could have been known to the Lew Chewans. Our Chinese pretended to give the name of the place as Ching King, which are Chinese words, signifying the chief or capital citadel.

We resumed our march at half past one o'clock. The old Pe-chung, "Chang Yuen, who had become a little fatigued by this time, took a *La goo* or *Lew Chew* chair, and followed in our rear, leaving the particular charge of us to his subordinates. The scouts were sent ahead, as usual, for our path descended again to the populous plain at the base of the hills. We already perceived indications of a fixed system in the espionage to which we were subjected.



It is of Nagasaki.

Chang Yuen and his two secondary officers were deputed to accompany us during the whole journey, while their dozen or more attendants and helpers were changed as we passed from one district of the island into another. Nothing could exceed the vigilance with which they watched us. We might separate into as many divisions as there were men, and yet each of us would still retain his native convoy. We could neither tire them down, nor run away from them. When, by chance, we suddenly changed our course, we still found them before us. And though this was the result of a jealous and exclusive system, yet they managed to give it the appearance of being done through respect for us.

I was curious to obtain some information regarding the domestic life of the natives, and frequently entered their huts unawares in the hope of finding them at their avocations with in. In most cases I found the huts deserted, but in some others caught the interest glimmers of *Lew Chew* life, in its more humble aspects. Near the castle while our convoy was passing around a village, I slipped into one of the alleys and entered a bamboo enclosure, within which were five neat dwellings. The mats were let down before the doors but the people were all hidden behind screens and in lofts under the thatch. For on looking in I found no one but a child and an old



THE HOUSE NEAR NAPI, LEW CHEN

Path of SABONT 8/10/12, 1914

man, who immediately knelt down and knocked his forehead on the floor before me. In another hut, in a village on the plain, I found an old woman and a girl of about twelve years of age, both of whom fell on their knees, and held up their hands with an expression which was at once imploring and reverential. A few words of friendly greeting, though in English, encouraged them, and I should no doubt have been able to inspect the interior of the hut, had not one of the spies come up at that moment and driven them away.

In the rich rice plains to which we descended we found sugar-cane for the first time, sorghum, or millet, and three varieties of the grain known in the United States as "Indian-corn." The road struck out into the swampy rice fields, and we made for a green hillland covered with pines. A village, almost completely buried in bowers and arcales of bamboo, lay at its foot. As we were about entering, we came upon two curious stones planted in the earth. The largest was about four feet high, and from its peculiar form struck me at once as a *lingua* or emblem of the Phallic worship. The same idea occurred to Mr. Hume, who made a sketch of it. It was a very hard, dark-colored stone, resembling porphyry, and the only thing we could learn from the natives respecting it was, that they called it 'aslee.' There is no trace of this feature of the Hinloo religion existing either in Japan, China, or Lew Chew. The discovery of this stone, if it should prove to be a Phallic emblem, is therefore exceedingly curious. In the course of the afternoon we found two more, one of which was prostrate and broken. In conjunction with these remains the face of the hill behind, for a distance of two miles, is almost entirely covered with excavated tombs, resembling the simpler forms of the rock tombs of Egypt and Syria. Our native conductors, when interrogated respecting them, called them 'the houses of the devil's men,' and seemed amused at our taking notice of them. This fact in a country where ancestral tombs are considered sacred, as among the Chinese, seems to point to the existence of another race on the island, in ancient times—a race who may have received the worship of the Lingam from Java, or other island where remnants of it exist.

After an unavailing attempt to shoot a couple of herons in a rice field, we kept pace nearly due north, passing through several beautiful villages. The houses were surrounded with banana trees, and the alleys completely overarched with bamboo. In one of the houses I and a woman weaving grass-cloth, in a form of primitive construction. She ceased from her labor as I approached the door, but commenced again, in obedience to my gestures. The shuttle was a little longer than the breadth of the stuff and thrown by hand. At the foot of the hill Dr. Lynah found a piece of lignite, which resembles coal, but is unfit for use as fuel, and also a small cultivated upland. There were three or four cattle grazing here, the first we had seen since leaving Negia. We saw a horse now and then, but this animal appeared to be scarce. The dividing ridge between the bays was about three miles in extent, and though the altitude was high, about the whole party was considerably fatigued. We determined to get a glimpse of Barru before returning. At last we reached a large village on the western slope of the ridge. It was surrounded with plantations of banana and a tall pine gave some elevation. Though a deer trail gate cut in the crest of the hill a fine portion of Parrow Bay and the mountains beyond lay before it. If it cost view. The altitude of the bay was about three miles distant, and a regular range of rocks rose in a double square masses like the walls of a city, and a regular city intervened. The landscape was more probably wild than the southern bay, and the hills of the hills were more regular and more gentle and less con-

the bay, and we walked, for two hours, in deep sand and crushed shells, around curve and headland. It was very toilsome work, especially as the glare of the sand struck directly in our faces. The beach was narrow and bordered with thick hedges of the pandanus, the fruit of which resembles that of the pine apple. The mountains on our left were wild and uncultivated. There were occasional paths striking up their sides, but, although the compass told us that the shore path led us out of our true course, the guide refused to take any of them. At the end of two hours we reached a large village, where the guide, who had followed us from "Isitzu, levied a substitute and turned back. A two-masted junk, of thirty or forty tons burden, lay at anchor in a cove near this place. We were now approaching the northern extremity of Barrow's Bay, and had a full view of the long headland south of it, and the four islands which lie, like a breakwater, across its mouth. The bay appeared to be extremely shallow, except near the entrance, and I doubt whether it would be of much value, as a harbor, for shipping of large size.

The path, finally, turned off to the north, up a steep hill, which brought us upon a rolling upland, covered with abundance of wood. The mountains we had passed exhibited an outline similar to the Catskills, and there was nothing in the scenery to remind us of the vicinity of the tropics. We presently entered a fine, broad avenue of pines, at the extremity of which appeared a handsome house, with a tiled roof. Our native conductors passed on into some bamboo arches, which denoted a village beyond, but I slipped suddenly into the open entrance and found a spacious house in the midst of a garden, with a small Buddhist temple beside it. Quick as my motions had been, the mats were already let down before all the doors, and nobody was to be seen. Before the house was a plant about ten feet high, with large scarlet panicles of flowers. I had barely time to break off a cluster when one of our officers came hurrying up and urged me, by signs and words, to leave, saying that the Bunyo, or Governor, as he designated Mr. Jones, had gone on. I, therefore, followed him through the village to a *Cung qua* which was larger and finer than any we had yet seen. It was like an elegant private residence, having a garden, enclosed by a square, clipped hedge of jessamine, and a separate establishment for servants and attendants. There were rows of chrysanthemums (a flower much esteemed by the Japanese) and two peach trees in the garden, besides a stout *camellia*, clipped into a fanciful shape. We installed ourselves in the chief apartment, on the soft matting, while the Pe-chung and his train took the other building. The only supplies we could procure were raw salt fish and sweet potatoes, with some roots of a native onion, pickled in salt. Neither fowls nor eggs could be found. The natives gave the name of the village as "Ching," which, being a Chinese word, is evidently incorrect, but we could get no other. The paper screens between the rooms were removed on our arrival, tea was brought in, and the natives busied themselves to make us comfortable, but the same unrelaxing espionage, as at "Missil ya," was kept up through the whole night. Again camp-fires were kindled and guards posted around us, while crowds of curious natives peeped from behind the bushes and walls to gratify their desire of seeing us. Mr. Heine, who had the first watch, went out to the camp fire, showed the people his watch, and other curiosities, and soon had a large crowd of villagers gathered about him, but one of the officers making his appearance, a single word of command scattered them in all directions, and they did not return again. In the evening I offered a handful of cash to one of the boys who had accompanied us from Napha. He refused it very earnestly, as there were two other boys standing near, but, watching an opportunity, when he was alone, I offered it again, when he immediately accepted it, with gestures expressive of his thank.



but he came up after an hour, and set himself to work with great good humor to supply our wants. In order to shield themselves from the heat of the sun, some of his attendants had tied banana leaves around their heads, and they all complained of fatigue.

We left Si komma, as the village was called, about half past two. At this, the most northern point we reached, we could not have been more than eight or nine miles distant from Port Melville. The intervening land was low, and another day would have enabled us to reach the head of that harbor. The native officials explained to us by signs and by tracing lines on the sand, that the road to Shendi lay along the beach, and that there was a Cung qua about 20 li distant. We tramped along sandy beaches and over stony headlands, following the general course of the shore, and never diverging far from it. The bay, or bight, marked with numerous abrupt indentations, presented some fine bold outlines of shore. Off the many inferior promontories lay rocky islets, covered with rich vegetation. The wooded mountains on our left were the same which we had skirted the day previous on the northern side of Barrow's Bay. The lower slopes on this side were partially cultivated, but the principal thoroughfare of the island, which we were following, kept near the sea, and often ran for half a mile through deep sand and shells. The scenery was extremely picturesque, reminding me of the coast of Sicily. Inside of the Sugar Loaf we espied two small boats, with lug sails of white canvas, which the men declared were our ship's boats, but this has since proved to be a mistake.

Notwithstanding the sultry heat of the afternoon, the Lew Chew coolies kept pace with us, under their heavy loads, while our lazy and complaining Chinamen lagged behind. These coolies were mostly boys, from twelve to sixteen years of age. I noticed as a curious fact that, in spite of the heavy loads they carried, and the rough by ways we frequently obliged them to take, they never perspired in the least, nor partook of a drop of water, even in the greatest heat. They were models of cheerfulness, alacrity, and endurance, always in readiness, and never, by look or word, evincing the least dissatisfaction. Our official conductors drank but two or three times of water during the whole journey. Tea appears to be the universal beverage of refreshment. It was always brought to us whenever we halted, and frequently offered to Mr. Jones, as the head of the party, in passing through villages. Once, at an humble fisherman's village, when we asked for *mizi*, which signifies cold water, they brought us a pot of hot water, which they call *yu*, and were much surprised when we refused to drink it.

After a march of ten miles along the picturesque shore, we reached one of the loveliest spots on the island. It was a village perched on a bold promontory, overgrown with the pine, banyan and sago palm, at the mouth of a charming valley which opened up between the hills to the base of the lofty peak behind Barrow's Bay. A stream of sweet water threaded the valley, which was covered with the freshest verdure, and overhung with beautiful groves of pine. It was a picture of pastoral loveliness, such as is rarely found in any country. Nothing struck me more during the journey than the great variety of scenery which the island encloses in its narrow compass. We passed through, at least, four different districts, which bore but the slightest resemblance to each other either in features or character. We had both the groves of the tropics and the wild woods of the north, the valleys of Germany and the warm shores of the Mediterranean.

The village was large, thriving, and as neatly laid out and hedged in as an English garden. The scrupulous neatness and regularity of the Lew Chew villages was doubly refreshing to one familiar with the squalor and filth of China. The sight of the Cung qua, which occupied the

place of honor at the top of the promontory, completed our raptures. Its roof of red tiles glittered in the sun; a row of feathery sagu palms threw their brilliant leaves over the wall of the enclosure; the whitest and softest of mats covered the floor; the garden blazed with a profusion of scarlet flowers; and stone basins, seated on pedestals, contained fresh water for our use. Its aspect of comfort and repose was a balm to travellers as weary as ourselves, and I directed Terry at once to hoist the stars and stripes upon the roof. I hastened back to make a sketch of the beautiful valley before sunset, while Mr. Heine occupied himself with a view of the *Cung-quâ*. A venerable old man, with a snowy beard reaching nearly to his knees, approached the bank where I sat, but upon noticing me, made a profound yet dignified reverence and retired. The village was named *Un-ni*. We had not yet reached the region of fowls, but the people sent us two small fresh fish, with a pumpkin and some cucumbers. Our own stores were quite low, both sugar and pork having been exhausted, so that we had nothing left but tea, coffee and ship biscuit.



Kung-Kwa near Un-ni, Low Chew

The natives kindled a fire inside the grounds of the *Cung-quâ*, and half a dozen of them sat around it all night. The morning was dull, and a cap of mist on the mountain threatened rain. A bath in the sea before sunrise refreshed us for the day's march. For our breakfast, there were sent two long, eel-like fish, resembling the gar, a few young egg-plants, two gourds and a basket of sweet potatoes. So much time was occupied in cooking and consuming these delicacies, that we did not get under way before 8 o'clock. Another consultation was held with our attendants, who declared that *Shendi* was 90 *li* distant, and that it would require three days for

us to reach Napha, this did not correspond with our own ideas of our position, and we determined to attempt reaching Napha the next evening, as we had been ordered.

We passed through the village of Un na, and over the headland to a deep bay. The tide was running out, and instead of wading through the sand around its entire curve, we made a straight line for the opposite shore, tramping through water two or three inches deep over beds of decomposing coral. We had proceeded along the shore for an hour and a half, when Ah Sing, one of the Chinese coolies, fell sick in consequence, as it afterwards appeared, of drinking sickee, and eating green peaches. His load was given to the Lew Chew coolies, and he obtained a temporary relief by punching his throat, in three places, so violently as to produce an extravasation of blood. Counter irritation is the usual Chinese remedy for all ailments, and it is frequently very efficacious. We were near a fishing village, and Mr. Jones endeavored to obtain a canoe, in which to send both our Chinamen back to the vessel. The Pe-ching begged him to give up the idea, since one of the native officers would be obliged to accompany them, and they all feared to trust themselves in the frail craft. They brought a *kagoo*, or rude sedan, in which they offered to have the man conveyed to Napha, but he was better by this time and declared himself able to proceed on foot. The officers expressed the greatest satisfaction when they found that none of them would be required to return in the canoe.

In the meantime the rest of us had pushed forward with the baggage. The morning was very hot, the glare from the white beach sand struck in our faces, and we began to tire of an endless tramp around cove after cove, and headland after headland. We were now, as we calculated, opposite the head of Barrow's Bay, and Sheudi was almost in a due southerly direction, yet the road still clung to the coast, as if intent on carrying us to the extreme point of Cape Broughton, thus greatly lengthening our journey, besides which, our orders were to return through the centre of the island. In answer to all our inquiries, the native officers and guides pointed along the shore, and were extremely anxious to prevent our taking any inland paths. This excited our suspicion, and we imagined their object to be to prevent our seeing the interior. Finally, coming to a well trodden path, which struck off up the hills, we shut our ears to all remonstrance and took it. In a short time it brought us to a handsome village, shaded not only with bamboo, but with splendid banyan trees. Beyond it there was a deep ravine, with a faintly marked foot path leading to some water at the bottom. Again the natives entreated us to take a path which plainly led to the shore. They pointed to the gorge, crying "*ma-i*," intimating that the path went no further than the water. Nevertheless, seeing traces of a path on the opposite side, we descended, followed by the unwilling officers and coolies. The pool of water which supplied the village was shaded by the largest pines I saw on the island. They were 70 or 80 feet in height, whereas the average is not more than 40 feet.

Our suspicions did injustice to the natives for we soon found that they had our convenience in view. Our path struck into a side-branch of the ravine, which, though not more than twenty feet wide, was a rice-swamp at the bottom. The sides were nearly perpendicular walls of earth and loose rocks, so that we were obliged to plunge up to the knees in mud. One of the men, Smith, sank so deep that it required the strength of three natives to extricate him. When, at last we reached the top of the hill, we found it covered with waste thickets, and no path to be seen except one on an opposite height, which we reached with some trouble. The path, an old and unused one, led us back to the beach, which it now seemed impossible to leave. The coolies, who had had a hard tug to get through the rice-swamp, took the whole matter very good humoredly, and the officers laughed as I thought, with a sort of malicious pleasure at our dis-

comfiture The walk over the white sand was doubly fatiguing after this, and on the arrival of Mr Jones we determined again to make for the interior, especially as we had reached the head of the last cove, whence the coast appeared to run almost due westwardly to Cape Broughton.

Mr Jones and Dr Ly nah, with the men Davis and Smith, took a foot path leading southward into the mountains, and after proceeding a little further along the coast I followed them, with the Seaman Mitchell. Mr Heine, with Terry and the *Lew Chew coolies*, still kept the shore. We (Mitchell and I) reached with great difficulty the path taken by the first party. It ascended steeply through pine forests, alternating with dense copsewood, for about two miles, till we gained the summit of the ridge. The whole expanse of Barrow's Bay came full into view to the eastward, while to the south we looked beyond the promontory we had been doubling so tediously, and saw the same deep cove we had beheld three days before from the top of Banner Rock. But all the interior of the island was still a wilderness, and for ten miles in advance stretched an unbroken forest. Our path did not appear to have been much travelled—other small paths branched from it, but the party in advance had broken off boughs and left them as guides for us. I was much spent with the heat and the exertion of climbing so rapidly, and after drinking out of a muddy hole filled with leaves, felt an attack of mingled heat and cold, with an oppression of the heart, which took away all my strength. We saw the other party on the top of a high peak ahead of us. The path crossed a ledge as narrow as a wall, with deep gulfs on each side, and then ascended a rocky ladder, the steepness of which took away what little strength I had remaining—I was obliged to lie down for some time before I could proceed further. A rain cloud coming up rapidly over Barrow's Bay admonished us to leave our lofty look out. The path I kept on southward through miles of wilderness, but the natives who had accompanied us pointed to another, which led back almost the way we came, and which they said would bring us to a *Cung-qua*. As there were no signs of the baggage, we were thus under the necessity of retracing our steps almost to the shore. On our way we passed through a singular gorge, which was closed up, in its narrowest part, by fragments hurled from above by some convulsion of nature. The stream flowing at the bottom disappeared for about fifty yards, when it again issued to the light through a cavernous opening.

A rain now came on, which continued for two or three hours, and made the road slippery and dangerous. We passed through a village, romantically situated in a wooded glen and uplands, covered with groves of pine, the path gradually swerving to the south, till it finally struck directly across the promontory. A great part of the way was a waste of wild thickets, with marshy hollows between the hills. We saw, several times, the tracks of wild boar, which the natives assured us were abundant, but we were not so fortunate as to get a sight of one. There were no traces of our baggage until we found the *Pe-ching*, and two other natives, crouching under a bush to keep out of the rain and smoking their pipes. Finally, about half past two, we heard the report of fire-arms, and soon after reached the *Cung-qua* of "*Chanda Iosa*," where M Heine and the coolies had already been waiting some time for us. We were uncertain whether the building was a *bona fide* *Cung-qua* or the residence of a *bunyo*, or officer, for it was occupied, when Mr Heine arrived, by a personage of some kind with his attendants but immediately given up for our use. There was a crowd of at least a hundred natives collected within the enclosure and looting on, with great astonishment, while Mr Heine fired at a mark. What seemed most to interest them, next to the accuracy of his aim, was the fact of the piece exploding without the application of fire, (nothing but Japanese matchlocks ever being seen on the island,) and its being loaded at the breech. They appeared familiar with the nature of



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TSUAN-CHU GUN-SAH LEW-CHIEH

Illustration of a village scene

gunpowder, and the use of our cutlasses, but during our journey we never saw a single weapon of any kind. There is said to be a small garrison of Japanese soldiers, both at Napha and Shendi, but, if so, they were carefully kept out of the war.

The Pe-chung, who soon afterwards came up, informed us that we had come 30 *li*, and that Shendi was still 60 *li* distant, and we could not reach it on the following day. Learning, however, that there was another Chung qua 20 *li* further, we decided to rest an hour or two, and push on to it the same evening. The people brought two fowls, with abundance of eggs and cucumbers, and, hungry and tired as we were, we made a most palatable meal.

We left again at half past four. The road was broad, well beaten, and shaded by a double road of pine trees. It ran in a southeastern direction, parallel with the coast, and about two miles inland. The country continued open, slightly undulating, and pleasantly diversified with groves of pine for four miles, when we came suddenly upon a deep glen, traversed by much the largest stream we had seen upon the island. The road crossed by a massive stone bridge, of three arches, remarkable for the size and rude strength of the piers, each of which had, on the inner side, in order to protect it from floods, a triangular abutment, projecting ten or twelve feet. The sides of the glen were nearly perpendicular, and covered with wild and luxuriant vegetation. Towards the sea, under a range of broken limestone crags that hung high over the stream, were several ancient excavated tombs. A spring of excellent water gushed out from the foot of one of these crags. Mr. Heine took a sketch of the place, which was remarkable for its seclusion and picturesque beauty. The natives called the stream the "*Fa-ya*."

On reaching a height overlooking the sea, we were agreeably surprised with the sight of the squadron, lying off the furthest point to the southwest, and between fifteen and twenty miles distant, in a straight line. This encouraged us to believe that we could reach Napha at the time appointed, and we pushed on rapidly and cheerily, for it was now growing dark, and no appearance of the Chung qua. The road approached the shore, and became a raised causeway, passing through rich rice swamps. The natives whom we met in the dusk of the evening took to flight on seeing us. At last, at half past seven, weary and spent with a tramp of twenty-seven miles, the native herald who ran before us turned into a gateway, over which towered a magnificent banyan tree. We followed, and discharged our pieces in a general *feu-de-joue*, on seeing a Chung qua with the lamps lighted, attendants waiting with their trays of tea-cups, and a polite old gentleman standing in the verandah to receive us. The Lew Chew mats were never so soft, nor the cups of unsugared native tea so refreshing, as on that evening. Eggs, cucumbers, rice, and fowls were immediately forthcoming, and our men concocted a soup which, to our minds, could not have been improved. The old Pe-chung made his appearance at a late hour, nearly as fatigued as ourselves, but overflowing with cordiality and good humor. A company of native guards kindled a fire under the banyan tree, and prepared to spend the night there. Our men were so fatigued that, in anticipation of another hard journey on the morrow, we dispensed with the usual watch. It was the less important, as we had found the native guard exceedingly vigilant in keeping away all stragglers from our vicinity. The light of the ruddy camp-fire, playing over the spreading boughs of the banyan tree, brought into strong relief the groups of swarthy faces clustered around it, and presented a picture so fantastic and peculiar that I sat looking at it long after I ought to have been asleep.

The sound of rain upon the tiles of our Chung-qua awoke us frequently during the night, and when we arose at daybreak the sky was overcast, the roads flooded, and a steady drizzle storm had set in. The Pe-chung and his associates wished us to stay at "*Pi-ko*," as the Chung-qua

was called, until the next day, slapping their legs to indicate how tired they were, and making signs of slipping up and falling down in the mud. But we were inexorable, and they sent for a new set of coolies to carry our baggage. We had another discussion about the distance, which ended in their declaring that Sheudi was 65 *li* and Napha 30 *li* distant. This was absurd, and probably ought to be attributed to the ignorance of the Chinese, through whom we communicated with them. The coolies prepared themselves for the rain by putting on shaggy jackets of grass, resembling the sheep skin garments of the Roman herdsmen. Our men had their pea jackets, and we were partially protected by ponchos of gutta percha and oilcloth. We were delayed in getting breakfast, and did not break up our camp until half past nine, when we set out, every body stiff and sore from the previous day's travel. The rain was still falling, though not so heavily as at first, and the road was an alternation of water and stiff mud, through which we trudged with difficulty, and at the risk of leaving our boots behind us. After rounding the head of the bight, we struck off over the hills to the southwest, and in an hour and a half came upon another deep glen, in the bottom of which were two massive bridges over a stream so broad and deep that it was doubtless a frith of the sea. We stopped an hour to rest and enable Mr Heine to take a sketch of the place. I noticed that the heavy triangular abutments to the piers were here placed on the side next the sea. The natives gave the glen, or river, the name of "Machinatoo."

The rain had ceased by this time, except an occasional sprinkle, and the road improved. After another hour the roads branched, that on the left striking off up the hills to Sheudi. We kept on over the hills towards Napha, the scenery gradually assuming a familiar appearance, till finally, from a height covered with pine trees, we looked down upon the harbor and the American squadron. After fording a broad salt creek, and crossing another ridge, we descended to the village of Tumé, opposite Napha. We reached our starting point, the house of Dr Bettelheim, at 2 p. m., and there took leave of our worthy Pe chung and his two assistants, after having appointed a time to meet them again, and endeavor to return some compensation for the provision furnished during the journey.

The distance we travelled during the six days was 108 miles, as nearly as we could calculate. Our trip embraced a little more than half the island, leaving the extremity south of Napha, (which is of limited extent,) and that part north of the head of Port Melville, and lying on both sides of that harbor, for future exploration. *

On the return of the party Mr Jones submitted the following report to the Commodore of his observations.

"Before describing the ancient royal castle of Chun Ching, which we discovered in our recent exploration of Iew Chew, it may be well to say a few words about the geology of the island, as the two are connected with each other.

Going northward from Napha we find the general surface rock to be argillaceous, either compact or shaly, which is intersected, at frequent intervals, by dykes or ridges of secondary limestone, of a very remarkable character. When we get as high up as Barrow's Bay the argillaceous rock ceases, and is succeeded by talcose slate, in which, however, the same limestone dykes occur. At the most northern point reached by us, that is, at the village of Nacumna, on the west side of the island, say forty two miles north of Napha, we reached granite, rising there

* This report is from the pen of Mr Bayard Taylor who will be remembered was directed by Commodore Perry to keep a journal of the incidents of the exploration and make the report.

They are green with verdure and a full growth of tropical vegetation which crowds up the cherties of the hills from the very borders of the shore which is here and there edged with coral reefs. The boulders and detached rocks have been thrown by former convulsions of nature into various grotesque forms which assume to the eye the shape of castle and tower and strange animals of monstrous and hideous form. Numerous canal like passages were at various openings in the sides of the rocky cliffs, which had almost the appearance of being hewn out with the chisel, but which were evidently formed in the course of volcanic changes when the rock flowed in liquid lava and subsided in the channels which the torrents that come down the sides of the mountains in the rainy season toward the sea have worn smooth by constant attrition. Some of these lakes or canal like passages less affected by time and the washing of the water, still retain their irregular formation which has so much the appearance of steps that the observer as he looks upon them might fancy they had been cut by the hand of man in the solid rock for the purpose of climbing the mountain. On the Southern Head as it is called within the harbor of Port Louis there is a very curious natural cave or tunnel, which passes through the breccia rock from the Southern Head to the beach on the other side. The entrance has a width of about fifteen feet and a height of thirty but the roof within soon rises to forty or fifty feet where it has so much the appearance of artificial structure that it may be likened to a bolder's arch in which even the keystone is observable. There is sufficient

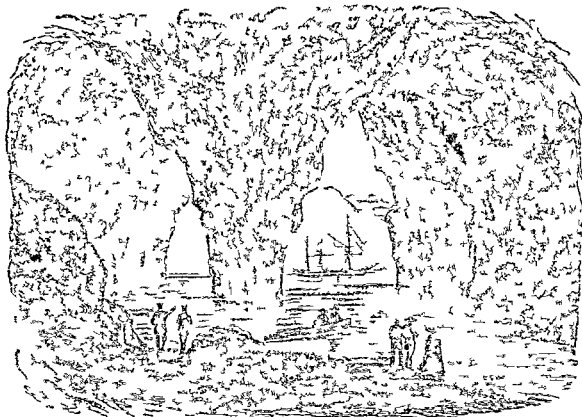


Fig. 1. The Port Louis

water for a boat to pass from one end to the other. There are several other caves or tunnels one of which is at least fifty yards in length and passes through a headland bounding the harbor. This is constantly traversed by the canoes of the inhabitants.

The geological formation of the island is trappean, with its various configurations and mineralogical peculiarities, columnar basalt appears, and hornblende and chalcidony are found. There are all the indications of past volcanic action, and the oldest resident of Peel Island stated that two or three tremblings of the earth, giving evidence of a liability to earthquake, are experienced annually even now.

The harbor of Port Lloyd (as Beechey named it) is on the western side, and nearly in the centre of Peel Island. It is easy of ingress and egress, and may be considered as safe and commodious, though of deep anchorage. Vessels usually anchor in from eighteen to twenty-two fathoms. The port is laid down on Beechey's chart as in latitude $27^{\circ} 5' 33''$ north, and $142^{\circ} 11' 10''$ east longitude. This position, however, is believed to be erroneous, for, according to two sets of observations, made by the master of the *Susquehanna*, the longitude was found to be $142^{\circ} 16' 00''$ east, five miles more to the eastward than Beechey makes it. The safest anchorage is to be found as high up the harbor as a ship can conveniently go, having regard to depth and room for swinging and veering cable. Beechey's directions for entering the port are sufficiently correct, and these, together with the Commodore's own observations, will be found in the Appendix.

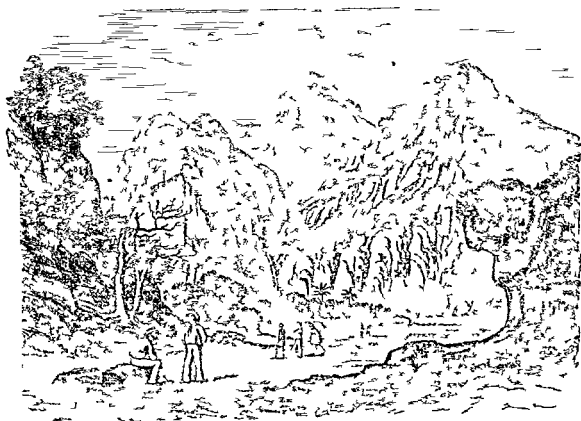
Wood and water can be procured in abundance, though the former must be cut by the crew, and taken on board the ship green. The water is obtained from running streams, and is of good quality. Timber for building purposes is rather scarce, and would soon be exhausted if any increase of population were to render the erection of many houses necessary. The best kinds of wood are the jamana and will mulberry, the former of which is very like the red wood of Brazil and Mexico, and is very enduring.

The harbor of Port Lloyd and the neighboring waters abound with excellent fish, which may be taken by the hook or net, although the places for hauling the seine are few, owing to the coral which in many parts lines the shores. The best place for this purpose is upon the beach which borders "Ten Fathom Hole," a deep portion of the bay which is close to the coral reef that extends out from the shore. The varieties of fish are not numerous, among those taken in the seine belonging to the *Susquehanna* there were but five observed: the mullet, which seemed to be the most abundant, two varieties of perch, the gar, and the common ray. Shrimps are very numerous, and, when quite small, frequent the shallow places among the coral rocks, and are there pursued by the dogs, seized upon and dragged on shore.

There is an abundance of excellent green turtle, of which the ships obtained large supplies, there are also plenty of cray fish. The varieties of the testacea are numerous, but none that was observed of any rarity, and none edible except the *chama gigas*, which, however, is very tough and indigestible. The family of the crustacea is very extensive, of which the land crab forms the chief part and which exists in every variety of size, form, and color, one of the most abounding is that which is commonly known as the "pirate." This animal can be seen in every direction near the shore, travelling about with its odd looking domicile upon its back, which it seems to have got possession of rather by chance than from choice. The "pirate" has no home of its own, but appropriates, whence its name, that which belongs to others. It has a decided preference for the shells of the *buccina*, *murex*, and *bulia*, which have the comfortable proportions of an inch and a half or so in length, but if such desirable quarters should, by any mischance happen to be scarce the pirate readily turns into the next most suitable dwelling of some neighbor at hand. It is necessary that the animal should have some snug corner

to the southern end of the island Mr Hampton resolved to continue with his companions, instead of returning as had been proposed with the Judge to the valley. The explorers having taken with them the liver and the kidneys of the wild boar hung up his carcass upon a tree to remain until their return and then continued their course.

In about a half hour afterward the ridge which divides the island was crossed and the top of the slope of the southern side reached. From this point the sea was seen and a view obtained of Bailey's Island rising from the surface in the distance a little west of south. It was now found necessary to alter the course of the route, for the guide had taken the party too far to the right and led them to the brink of a steep precipice which it was impracticable to descend. There was some difficulty now in retracing their steps for they had got so near to the precipice that they were forced to creep along with great caution clinging to the strong grass and shrubs which grew upon the brink. By this mode of procedure for the extent of two hundred yards or so they succeeded in reaching a place where the precipice terminated, but where the descent was still so steep that it was found necessary for each man as he descended to place himself upon his back and thus slide down the declivity, taking care to check his speed by occasionally clenching the earth or some projecting bush. Finally, the ravine below was reached, but there was considerable disappointment on finding that the worst was not yet over, for, instead of



Valley near the East of Peel Island, South Group

coming upon a water-course as was expected which might lead gently to the sea side it was discovered that there was a succession of rock steps varying from ten to fifty feet high which was necessary to climb. At last the beach was reached and as the men in a glance looked

up to their remaining companions, some standing upon the edge of the cliffs, and others letting themselves down their precipitous sides, the undertaking just accomplished seemed a marvellous feat of labor, difficulty, and danger.

The party now found themselves in what the guide called the South East Bay, which was said to be frequently visited by the whalers, some of whom had left evidence of their visits in the stump of a tree, which showed marks of having been smoothly cut with a large axe. There was also a neglected bed of tomatoes, overgrown with weeds, seen stretched along the banks of the stream, which had certainly been planted there by the hand of man. On the gathering of all the company, who were almost worn out, and suffered much from the excessive heat, a fire was lighted, and the boar's liver and kidneys being duly cooked, a very excellent extemporaneous feast with the addition of the pork and other rations brought with them, was prepared and voraciously discussed. The party being refreshed by their banquet and the rest they had enjoyed, and it being as late as two o'clock, determined to return. When the guides announced that it was necessary to go back the way they came, the resumption of the labors, and the exposure to the dangers which had just been undergone, seemed quite appalling. There was, however, no alternative, and the party was forced to retrace their steps, but succeeded, finally, with a renewed experience of their former troubles, and after excessive fatigue in reaching the valley whence they had set out with the "Judge" and his Otaheitan companion.



South East Bay Port and

It was six o'clock in the evening when they arrived at the "Judge's" quarters so they spared themselves but little time for repose but soon continued their journeying. One of the party was so wearied with fatigue as to be obliged to proceed to the Kanaka settlement at the

The animals on the island were mostly imported but had become wild in their habits from straying in the woods. Pigeons, finches, crows and sandpipers, were found among the native birds, and the tortoise, the iguana, and a small lizard were the principal indigenous animals seen.

In addition to the two surveys of Peel Island the interesting results of which have been just recorded, the Commodore dispatched an officer to report on the general aspect and character of the island of Stapleton, from whose statement some valuable facts are derived. Stapleton Island, like the rest of the Bonin group, is of volcanic origin, and has a varied surface of plain, hill, and valley, with large tracts of fertile land. A small bay was found on the western side with apparently deep water, and surrounded by rocks and mountains varying from 800 to 1,500 feet in height, which protect it from the S.W. typhoons.

A small promontory and coral reef were observed to divide this bay, and on the land bordering the northern section was a spring of cool, well tasting water, coming out of a rock and giving a supply of nearly three gallons per minute. The indigenous productions of Stapleton were the same as those on the other islands but the goats which had been introduced there had increased marvellously, to the extent, it was supposed, of several thousands, and had become very wild in the course of their undisturbed wanderings through the secluded ravines and over the savage rocks of the island.

The Commodore, having been long satisfied of the importance of these islands to commerce was induced to visit them, chiefly by a desire of examining them himself and recommending Peel Island as a stopping place for the line of steamers which, sooner or later, must be established between California and China. To this end he caused the island to be explored, the harbor to be surveyed, and a few animals to be placed upon two of the groups of islands, as the commencement of a provision for future wants. Garden seeds of every description were also distributed among the present settlers and hopes were held out to them by the Commodore of a future supply of implements of husbandry and a greater number of animals. A suitable spot too was selected for the erection of offices, wharves, coal sheds, and other buildings necessary for a depot for steamers. A title was obtained to a piece of land which is admirably adapted to the desired purpose. It is situated on the northern side of the bay near its head with a front on the water of 1,000 yards and a good depth near the shore for the length of 500 yards, it might, by the building of a pier extending out fifty feet, be conveniently approached by the largest vessel afloat.

In a letter addressed to the Navy Department Commodore Perry has given at length his views of the conveniences of Peel Island for the establishment of a depot for steamers. In this communication he says:

'As my instructions direct me to seek out and establish ports of refuge and refreshment for vessels traversing these distant seas, I have, from the commencement of the cruise, kept constantly in view the port in which we are now at anchor,* and the principal harbor of the Bonin Islands, as well for general convenience of resort as to furnish connecting links, or suitable stopping places, for a line of mail steamers, which I trust may soon be established between some one of our Pacific ports and China, an event so much to be desired, and, if accomplished, one that will be distinguished even in the history of these remarkable times, as of the highest importance to the commerce of the United States and of the world.

*The Commodore is writing from Naha in Lew Chew.

"The mails from the United States and Europe, by the way of Egypt, the Red sea, and Indian ocean, arrive regularly at Hong Kong, almost to a day, twice a week in each month. From Hong Kong to Shanghai, five days may be all need for the passage. To this point the British Government would doubtless extend its mail if it were taken up by us and continued on to California.

"Its transportation, by steam, from Shanghai to San Francisco, via the Bonin and Sandwich Islands, would occupy thirty days allowing three days for stopping for coal, etc. Thus, the distance from San Francisco to Honkulu, in the Sandwich Islands, is roughly estimated at 2,093 miles, from Honkulu to Peel Island, 1,301 miles, and from Peel Island to the mouth of the Yangtze Kiang, or Shanghai river, 1,081 miles, in all, 4,475 miles, and allowing 240 miles per day, the time at sea would be twenty seven, and the time in port three days, from San Francisco to New York twenty two days would be required, making from Shanghai to New York fifty two days.

"The usual time occupied in transporting the mail from England to Hong Kong via Marseilles, (the shortest route) is from forty five to forty eight days, and to that two days' detention at Hong Kong, and five more to Shanghai, would make the time required to reach the latter place from fifty two to fifty five days.

"Shanghai might be considered the terminus of the English and the commencement of the American mail, and thus an original letter could be sent west by way of Europe, and its duplicate east by way of California, the first arriving at Liverpool about the time its duplicate reaches New York.

"But apart from the advantages, and, I may add, the glory of perfecting a scheme so magnificent, this line of steamers would contribute largely to the benefit of commerce. Already many thousands of Chinamen are annually embarking for California, paying for their passages each \$50, and finding themselves in everything excepting water and fuel for cooking their food.

"These provident people are the most patient and enduring laborers, and must, by their orderly habits, add greatly to the agricultural interests of California.

"But Shanghai is now becoming the great commercial mart of China, already does it out rival Canton in its trade with the United States, and when it shall be considered that the fine teas and silks, and other rare and valuable commodities of that part of China, can be conveyed by means of steam to California in five, and to New York in eight weeks, it is impossible to estimate in anticipation the advantages that may grow out of an intercourse so rapid and so certain." *

* The importance of the Bonin Islands to the advancement of commercial interests in the east is so great that the subject has more or less occupied the mind of the Commodore since his return, and the importance is best shown by the following document which has been placed in the hands of the commander by Commodore Perry since this chapter was written.

Notes with respect to the Bonin Islands

My visit to the Bonin Islands forcibly impressed me with the idea of the importance as a point of rendezvous for vessels navigating that part of the Pacific ocean in which they lie, and especially as offering a port of refuge and supply for whaling ships resorting to those regions, as well as a depot for coal for a line of steamers which ere long must unquestionably be established between California and China & Japan.

Whales of several varieties abound in those parts of the ocean lying between the Bonins and the coast of Asia, and are in greater numbers in the neighborhood of Japan. Until the establishment of a treaty with that singular empire the masters of whaling vessels were cautious not to approach near to its shores, under a well founded apprehension of falling into the hands of the Japanese and suffering as a consequence imprisonment and cruel treatment. These fears should no longer exist as the stipulations of the treaty make provision and offer guarantees not only for kind treatment to those Americans who may approach the coast, or be thrown by accident upon it, but also for the most comfortable and prompt treatment to those Americans who may approach to enter any of its ports for temporary refitment, and the ports of Hakodadi and Simoda are open for all purposes of repair of supplies.

From Disappointment Island the course of the ship was steered directly for the Borodinos as laid down in the ordinary charts. They were made on the 22d of June directly ahead, and were found to be two in number, situated five miles apart, and lying in a N N E and S S W. direction. They appeared to be of coral formation but of great antiquity, as trees of considerable size crowned the uplands, the most elevated part of which may have been fifty feet above the level of the sea. The navigation in the immediate neighborhood seemed free of danger, but no indentations were seen in the surrounding shore which might afford safe anchoring places. No signs of people were discovered, and it is presumed that the islands are uninhabited. The position of the extremity at the south of the southern island was estimated to be in latitude $25^{\circ} 17'$, and in longitude $131^{\circ} 19'$ east.

As during the return voyage moderate breezes from S S W. to S W. prevailed with warm weather, and as, in fact, the wind ever since the first departure from Napha had continued from the southward and westward, it may be inferred that the southwest monsoon extends as far north as the parallels of latitude in which the course of the ships laid. The *Susquehanna* and *Saratoga* reached, in the evening of June 23d, their anchorage in the bay of Napha, where they found the *Mississippi*, the *Plymouth*, and the *Supply*.



Port Lloyd and Bonin Islands



CHAPTER XI.

CHANGES AT NAPHA, NEW REGENT—BANQUET ON BOARD OF THE SUSQUEHANNA—EXCESSIVE DIGNITY OF THE NEW REGENT—STATELINESS OF LEW CHEWANS THAWED OUT BY THE DISHER—GUESTS SENT HOME—BAMBOO VILLAGE—INTERIOR OF LEW CHEW HOUSES—MEN INDOLENT—GOSSIPING AT LEW CHEW—LEW CHEW LOON—DIFFERENT CLASSES OF THE PEOPLE—THEIR FEAR OF SPIES—SLAVERY OF PEASANTS—CAUSES OF DEGRADATION—EXCELLENCE OF AGRICULTURAL CULTIVATION—ORIGIN OF POPULATION OF LEW CHEW—FORMER KINGDOMS ON THE ISLAND—RELATION OF LEW CHEW TO CHINA AND JAPAN, RESPECTIVELY—EDUCATION IN LEW CHEW—RELIGION OF THE INHABITANTS—CHRISTIAN MISSION IN LEW CHEW—DISTINCTIONS OF DRESS—PEOPLE SELL THEMSELVES AS SLAVES—CLANSHIP—COIN IN LEW CHEW—SUGAR MAKING—NATURAL PRODUCTS OF THE ISLAND



WHEN the squadron returned to Napha, on the 23d of June, it was found that a new regent had been installed. The old occupant, who had so pertinaciously striven to prevent the Commodore's visit to Shui, and who had also so bountifully entertained our countrymen at his own habitation, had, it was said, been deposed. It was difficult to ascertain with certainty the causes of this degradation, but it was not to be doubted that, if true, it was in some mode connected with the presence of our ships at Napha, and probably resulted from the admission of the Commodore and his suite into the royal residence at Shui. It was not a pleasant reflection to the officers that they should have been, however

innocently, the cause of the poor old man's degradation; and it seemed hard to understand why their visit should have led to more serious consequences than those produced by that of the officers of H. B. M. ship *Sphinx* to the same place. At first, it was rumored that the old regent had been obliged to perform the *hare-kiri*, or disembowelling operation; but the painful feelings produced by this intelligence were happily relieved by the sight of the old man in his house at Shui, by two of the officers of the *Susquehanna*. Dr. Bettelheim (who did not seem to feel any pity for the degraded dignitary) stated that he would probably be banished, with his family, to one of the smaller islands.

The Commodore, who was quite satisfied with the conciliatory measures that had been pursued during his absence, now renewed his invitation to the regent and treasurer to dine on board the *Susquehanna*, on Tuesday, the 28th of June, offering to send boats for them. This invitation was accepted, and the Commodore had reason to doubt the whole story of the old regent's degradation, from the fact that the new regent, *Shang Hung Hun*, a member of the family of his predecessor, and a much younger man, did not hesitate to accept an invitation to the dinner,

but went even further in his courtesies and attentions than the old regent had ever done. As far as he could ascertain the facts, the Commodore believed that the old man had voluntarily resigned in favor of the young one.

On the appointed day of the feast, three of the ship's boats were sent off to the creek at Tumai to bring on board the invited guests. On their arrival, and after the usual presentation of crimson cards, they came on board in robes of the finest and cleanest grass-cloth, and with *hatcher matchees* of showy color on their heads. Captain Buchannan received them at the gangway, and conducted them through the various parts of the ship. The day was oppressively warm, and the visitors found it so sultry between decks, and especially in the engine room, that they were glad once more to stand upon the upper deck. The marines were under arms, and the band played to give honor to their reception. When dinner was announced they were ushered into the Commodore's cabin, and immediately sat down to the table. The entertainment was, of course, entirely in accordance with European and American customs. The Commodore took the centre of the table, with the regent on his right hand and the chief treasurer on his left, while the mayor of Napha and one of the other treasurers were seated near the ends of the table, where they were taken in charge by the commanders of the different vessels of the squadron. Mr. Williams and Dr. Bettelheim were present as guests and interpreters, while at a smaller



Dinner to the Regent on board the *Euphrosyne*

table were Messrs O H Perry, Portman, Taylor, and Heine. None of the regent's suite were allowed to sit at table with him, but remained in attendance. His interpreter, Ichirazichi, the same whom we have already presented to our readers, stood behind him.

circular comb. A free use is made of oil and lamp-black in arranging it. Two large hair-pins are then passed through the mass, to keep it in place, and the front end of the lower pin is finished with a head in the form of a star. The different metals of which the pins are made indicate the rank of the wearer. They are of gold, silver, brass, lead, and pewter. The lower class generally wear brass, though the very poorest use sometimes the metals last named. The literati or dignitaries use gold and silver. The pin, therefore, tells the rank at once. The lowest order of the people consists of the public slaves, (*wo-bang*.) who have no civil rights nor personal freedom, and must obey the slightest beck of the literati. Their condition is one of utter degradation. The intermediate class next above these is composed of the peasants or field laborers, (*Ha-koo-shoo*.) These farm the country, paying to the government one-half of the products in lieu of taxes, and paying also an exorbitant rent. We have already stated that two-tenths is all the laborer gets of the results of his toil. By this toil the literary class, which never works at all, is supported. The highest grade in the lower class is made up of the messengers, spies, menial officers, &c., in the service of government, and includes also the small traders and mechanics. This caste is known by the name of *Ho-dae-o-gang*. When doing duty for the government these receive no wages, nothing but their food, and the distant hope of promotion to the honor of substituting for the brass pin one of silver. The rich some-

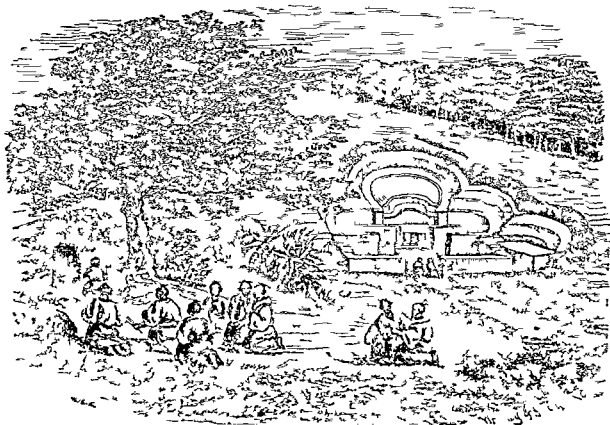


times purchase from a poor man for a term of years. The price of

Great respect is shown for the dead
are constructed of stone, and often



circular comb. A free use is made of oil and lamp black in arranging it. Two large hair pins are then passed through the mass, to keep it in place, and the front end of the lower pin is finished with a head in the form of a star. The different metals of which the pins are made indicate the rank of the wearer. The use of gold, silver, brass, lead and pewter. The lower class generally wear brass, though the very poorest use sometimes the metals last named. The literati or dignitaries use gold and silver. The pin, therefore, tells the rank at once. The lowest order of the people consists of the public slaves (*oo-bai j*) who have no civil rights nor personal freedom, and must obey the slightest behest of the literati. Their condition is one of utter degradation. The intermediate class next above these is composed of the peasants or field laborers, (*Ha loo-shoo*). These farm the country paying to the government one-half of the products in lieu of taxes, and paying also an exorbitant rent. We have already stated that two-tenths is all the laborer gets of the results of his toil. By this toil the literary class, which never works at all is supported. The highest grade in the lower class is made up of the messengers, spies, minor officers &c. in the service of government, and includes also the small traders and mechanics. This caste is known by the name of *We-dao-o-ging*. When doing duty for the government these receive no wages, nothing but their food and the distant hope of promotion to the honor of substituting for the brass pin one of silver. The rich some-



the first approach of the squadron, their size, color, and position on the hill sides caused them, at a distance, to be mistaken for dwellings

A sort of clan-ship seems to obtain in each district, and the people of one village seldom mix with the inhabitants of another. The agriculturists, and indeed the common people generally, appear to know but few physical wants. They have sweet potatoes in abundance, and these, with a miserable hut to sleep in, seem to bound their very limited desires. Many of the poor are fishermen, but the larger number is composed of mechanics, employed chiefly in turning wooden implements and covering them with lacquer. The women commonly perform this latter branch, except as to the painting, this is done by men. The shops are few, and the articles sold are chiefly piper, rice, tea, sweetmeats, and clothing. The Lew Chewans always insisted that they had no current coin, and that their trade was always in a barter of specific objects. This may be in the main correct, as they appear to have but little metallic currency, and the Commodore endeavored in vain to procure from the authorities some of their coin in exchange for ours. They solemnly assured him they had no national currency, and, though they are very much in the habit, from motives of supposed policy, of exaggerating their poverty, this statement is probably true. They know, however, very well the value of the Chinese coin, and received it from our pursers in the settlement of accounts.

The vegetable and animal productions of Lew Chew are abundant enough. The sugar-cane thrives, and they have a rude mode of making sugar.

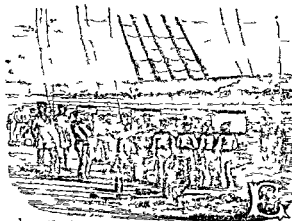
Their export of this, as well as of saki, an intoxicating liquor distilled from rice, and very strong, they make also tobacco in considerable quantities, and smoking is a universal habit. Some cotton is also grown, and indigo is raised in the island. They also make salt by evaporation, and, were the island in other hands, its agricultural productions would support a large population, and furnish a surplus for exportation. Fowls, ducks, geese, pigs, goats, and a small species of black ox, are all very abundant. There is a small but active and tough breed of horses, and the wild boar is found in the forests. The general impression left on the minds of the gentlemen of the expedition was, that Lew Chew was a beautiful island, abundantly supplied, and needed but a good government to form, so far as bodily comfort is concerned, as pleasant a residence as could be desired.



Tombs in Lew Chew

CHAPTER XII.

DEPARTURE FROM NAPIA FOR JAPAN — COURSE OF THE SHIPS — OHO-SIMA — ISLAND SEEN BY COMMANDER GLENN, PROBABLY OHO-SIMA — CLEOPATRA ISLANDS — CURRENTS — FOURTH OF JULY ON BOARD — APPROACH TO CAPE IDEC — SQUADRON, LED BY THE SUSQUEHANNA, ENTERS THE BAY OF YEDO — ROCK ISLAND — HAZY ATMOSPHERE OF JAPAN — SURPRISE OF THE JAPANESE AT SIGHT OF THE STEAMERS MOVING AGAINST WIND AND TIDE — BAY OF SAGAMI — APPEARANCE OF THE COAST AND COUNTRY INLAND — FUSHIYAMA — STRATA MADE READY FOR ACTION — FLEET OF JAPANESE BOATS PUT OFF FROM THE SHORE — LEFT BEHIND BY SQUADRON — BAY OF URAGA — OPPOSITE COAST OF AWA — JAPANESE FORTS — SQUADRON COMES TO ANCHOR IN THE BAY OF URAGA — POLICINGS ON APPROACHING THE ANCHORAGE — JAPANESE GUARD BOATS PUT OFF — NO ONE PERMITTED TO COME ON BOARD THE SHIPS — APPEARANCE OF GUARD BOATS AND CREWS — SKILL OF THE JAPANESE IN MANAGING THEIR BOATS — GUARD BOAT COMES ALONGSIDE OF THE MISSISSIPPI, AND JAPANESE FUNCTIONARY DEMANDS TO COME ON BOARD — NOT PERMITTED — NOTICE IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, ORDERING THE SHIPS AWAY, HELD UP TO BE READ — INTERPRETERS DIRECTED TO INFORM THE JAPANESE THAT THE COMMODORE WOULD CONFER WITH NO ONE BUT THE HIGHEST OFFICIAL IN URAGA — JAPANESE REPLIED THAT THEY HAD THE VICE GOVERNOR ON BOARD — THIS OFFICER AND HIS INTERPRETER ALLOWED TO COME ON BOARD THE SUSQUEHANNA — NOT PERMITTED TO SEE THE COMMODORE — CONFERENCE WITH LIEUTENANT CONTRE, WHO EXPLAINS THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE COME ON A FRIENDLY MISSION AND THAT THE COMMODORE BEARS A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE EMPEROR — DESIRES THE APPOINTMENT OF AN OFFICER OF SUITABLE RANK TO RECEIVE IT FROM THE COMMODORE — COMMODORE REFUSES TO GO TO NAGASAKI — INFORMS THE JAPANESE OFFICIALS THAT IF THE GUARD-BOATS ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY REMOVED HE WILL DISPERSE THEM BY FORCE — THE BOATS ARE WITHDRAWN — VICE GOVERNOR RETURNS TO THE SHORE, PROMISING FURTHER COMMUNICATION ON THE MORROW — POLICY RESOLVED ON BY THE COMMODORE — METEOROLOGICAL PHENOMENON — VISIT ON THE NEXT DAY FROM THE GOVERNOR OF URAGA — CONFERENCE BETWEEN HIM AND COMMANDERS BUCHANAN AND ADAMS — SECOND REFUSAL OF THE COMMODORE TO GO TO NAGASAKI — DETERMINATION EXPRESSED TO DELIVER THE LETTER THERE, AND, IF NECESSARY, IN THE CITY OF YEDO ITSELF — GOVERNOR PROPOSES TO REFER THE MATTER TO YEDO — COMMODORE ASSENTS AND ALLOWS THREE DAYS FOR AN ANSWER — SURVEY BY THE SQUADRON'S BOATS OF THE BAY OF URAGA, AND ULTIMATELY OF THE BAY OF YEDO



ONLY on the morning of the 2d of July, 1853, after many unforeseen delays, the Commodore departed from Napia with four vessels only, the two steamers, the Susquehanna, his flag-ship, and the Mississippi, the Siratoga, and the Plymouth sloop-of-war The Supply was left behind, and the Caprice dispatched to Shanghai. This was but a poor show of ships, in comparison with the more imposing squadron of twelve vessels which had been so repeatedly promised. But as none of these additional vessels had arrived, and as no calculation could be made as to when they might be looked for, the Commodore resolved to sail with the inferior force, which he

trusted would so far answer his necessities as not to interfere seriously with the great object of the expedition, now fairly set out for Japan. The advantages of steam were fully appreciated in the opportunity it gave of making a uniformly steady and direct course of ascertained speed—the advantages in which the sailing vessels were made to participate, for the *Saratoga* was taken in tow by the *Susquehanna*, as the *Plymouth* was by the *Mississippi*. The Commodore's ship led the van out of Napha and awaited, some five miles away, between the group of islands situated off the harbor and the southwestern extremity of the island, the coming up of her consort, as did the *Mississippi* for hers. Hawseers then being passed from the steamers to the two sloops-of-war, they were respectively taken in tow, the squadron fairly started and began the voyage to Yedo.

All seemed very well satisfied to get away from Lew Chew. The picturesque interests of the island were, for the time being, thoroughly exhausted, and the dull realities of life began to weigh rather heavily upon the visitors. Beside, the great object of the expedition was still before them, and anticipation naturally begot impatience. The weather, too, had become sultry and excessively oppressive, for the heat had reached the high degree of 88° Fahrenheit in the coolest part of the *Susquehanna* while she lay at anchor in the harbor. The people of Lew Chew, moreover, had not apparently been very much won over by the blandishments of their courteous visitors. The supplies with which they at first furnished the squadron had been gradually falling off, and their consent to receive payment for them seemed to be the principal change in their policy effected by the long sojourn of six weeks. Still some progress had been made. Their system of espionage had become less public and intrusive, although some suspected that it was as alert as ever though more concealed.

On getting clear of the harbor and stretching beyond the shelter of the southeastern extremity of the island, a strong wind was encountered from the east, and as the steamers were deep, it was thought advisable to stand off on the port tack in order to get well clear of the land, for the vessels in tow were dragging them to leeward notwithstanding the power of the engines. In the course of the day, as there was every prospect of weathering the eastern part of the island, the ships were put on the other tack, and their course directed for Japan.

The track taken by the squadron east of the chain of islands which stretch from Formosa to Lew Chew, and thence to Japan, (very properly called by Blunt the "Southern," "Middle," and "Northern" groups,) has been very rarely traversed by the ships of modern nations, while the islands on the eastern side of the chain are unknown to our present navigators.

The French admiral, *Cecille*, in 1846, employed one or more of his squadron in the exploration of the islands about Lew Chew, and along the western side of the northern group, but according to the best authorities, to which Von Siebold, among others, adds his testimony, the eastern side of the latter islands has never been visited by any modern navigator. The principal island of the northern group is called by the Japanese *Oho sima*, and by the Chinese *Tatao*, these words meaning in their respective languages, "great island." It is about the size, including one or two adjoining islands in the estimate, of Great Lew Chew, and is probably governed by similar laws. It has one chief city and several towns, and the country is supposed to be highly cultivated. Von Siebold states that the island contains several good harbors, and it is undoubtedly, in every respect, of sufficient interest to claim an investigation. The Commodore resolved, at some subsequent period, to send some vessel of the squadron to make a proper survey.

The *Susquehanna* and the accompanying ships were probably the first either of European or American vessels that ever passed along the entire extent of the northern group. Von Siebold asserts that Broughton saw the northeast point, and that Captain Guerin, of the French corvette *Sabine*, traced the western shore in 1818. It was probably Oho-sima, the principal island of the group, that was seen by Commander Glynn in 1818, and which he supposed to be a new discovery. The *islets* which he speaks of having seen, bearing N N W, were the *Cleopatra* islands, examined two years before by one of the vessels of Admiral Cécille's squadron.

Von Siebold's charts, appended to his great work on Japan, and compiled by him, show these islands pretty accurately laid down, and it was found that the observations made on board the *Susquehanna* gave such bearings of the principal headlands of Oho-sima as correspond tolerably well with the position as given by Von Siebold. A current is said to be continually setting from these islands to the northward and eastward, or, as the islanders say, it always goes to Japan and never comes back. This was, however, found to be of no great strength during the passage of the *Susquehanna*, although it must be acknowledged to be a matter of difficulty to estimate in a steamer the rapidity and direction of currents, as they are generally over-logged, or in other words, surprised in speed by the rate of going of the vessel. There is, moreover, another difficulty in consequence of the backward movement given to the water by the evolution of the paddle-wheels of a steamship.

The third day of the voyage, being the fourth day of July, 1853, brought with it a lively remembrance of home, as it was the seventy-seventh anniversary of our national holiday. The day opened fresh and pleasant, and the men were prepared to get up some amateur theatricals, and otherwise to celebrate the occasion, but the weather becoming unfavorable, and other circumstances interfering, it was deemed advisable, much to the disappointment of the sailors, to dispense with the show by which they had intended to give exhibition to their patriotism. The occasion, however, was duly honored by the firing of a salute of seventeen guns from each vessel of the squadron, and by the serving of an additional ration of grog to Jack, while the officers brought to bear also the resources of their various messes, to give due enjoyment and impressiveness to the day. All on board were allowed to feel that it was a holiday, in a respite from the usual muster at general quarters and exercises at the great guns and small arms, which had been kept up during the passage with great strictness and regularity, in order that the squadron might be prepared for any event on its arrival at Japan.

The weather, although generally warm, varied, and thus, while some days were excessively hot and oppressive, others were tolerably cool and pleasant. The winds occasionally blew with considerable freshness, and mostly from the east, but frequently there was hardly a breath of air to be felt, and, consequently, with a temperature which reached 88° in the coolest place on deck, all on board suffered greatly from the intense heat. And, indeed, the still heat and clear atmosphere which were experienced, even on a close approach to the shores of Japan, did not seem to confirm what has been said, and what was expected, of the cool and foggy climate of that country.

At sunset on Thursday, the 7th of July, the squadron was, according to observation, about forty miles from Cape Negatsuo, or Idsu, as it is otherwise called. In consequence of this proximity, the heads of the ships were put off shore from midnight until four o'clock next morning, when, not only the cape was seen from the masthead, but several of the islands to the eastward, called by Von Siebold *Goebroken Eilander*, (the Broken islands,) as well as the

larger two of the group, bearing the Japanese names of Tosi sima and Likiue sima. The morning was fine, though the atmosphere was so hazy that there was but an indistinct view of the outline of the precipitous coast. Through the mist, however, the bold promontory of Idsu could be seen rising loftily out of the sea, and stretching back to the interior of Nippon in a crowd of mountainous elevations. The Susquehanna's course, as the leading ship, was laid directly for the entrance to the bay of Yedo, and as she passed the precipitous land of Cape Idsu she came up with a low, barren, and apparently uninhabited islet of about three fourths of a mile in length, known as Rock island. There is a passage between this and the promontory which bounds the main land, and, although broken with several rocky islets, it is navigable. The United States ship of the line Columbus took that course, although the other, on the outer side of Rock island, the one pursued by the Morrison, was preferred, and was accordingly taken by the Commodore, who passed within a mile and a half of the island. As the squadron sailed up the coast some eight or ten junks were in sight, and two or three of them were observed soon to change their course and to turn back toward the shore, as if to announce the arrival of strangers.

The morning seemed to confirm the reputed character of the Japanese climate, for the atmosphere was so thick and hazy that the extent of view was unfortunately very much restricted, and it was not possible to get a distinct outline of the shore until the squadron came to anchor off the city of Uraga. The steamer, in spite of a wind, moved on with all sails furled, at the rate of eight or nine knots, much to the astonishment of the crews of the Japanese fishing junks gathered along the shore or scattered over the surface of the mouth of the bay, who stood up in their boats, and were evidently expressing the liveliest surprise at the sight of the first steamer ever beheld in Japanese waters.

As the day advanced the sun came out with a brighter lustre, glistening upon the broad sails of the junks within view, and dispelling the mist, through the openings of which the lofty summits and steep lava scarred sides of the promontory of Idzu and its mountain chains, now left rapidly behind, could occasionally be discovered. Crossing the mouth of the bay of Sagami, with Vries island, or Oo sima, as it is called, on the starboard, the ships moved in toward Cape Sagami. The Great Fus, now, as the fog occasionally lifted, rose to view behind the head of the bay of Sagami, and its cone like summit was disclosed, rising to an enormous height, fir inland, and covered with a white cap, but whether of snow or of fleecy clouds it was impossible to distinguish. The boats showed themselves more cautiously as the vessels entered the bay, but one was overtaken by the steamers, and those on board seemed in a terrible state of excitement, letting drop its broad sails, and taking to their oars, which they used with all their might, as they were evidently anxious to give a wide berth to the squadron.

As the ships neared the bay, signals were made from the Commodore, and instantly the decks were cleared for action, the guns placed in position and shotted, the ammunition arranged, the small arms made ready, sentinels and men at their posts, and, in short, all the preparations made, usual before meeting an enemy. About noon Cape Sagami was reached, when the squadron came too, for about ten minutes, and a signal was made for all captains to go on board the flag ship and receive their orders from the Commodore. This done, the vessels now continued their course and soon came up with the peninsula of Sagami, at the south end of which a town was observed. When the squadron had approached within two miles of the land, a fleet of large boats, amounting to more than a dozen, pushed off in the direction of the ships,

with the seeming intention of visiting them. They were, however, not waited for, and were soon left behind, much puzzled, doubtless, by the rapid progress of the steamers against the wind. The boats appeared to be fully manned, but did not seem to be armed, although each of them bore a large banner with certain characters inscribed on it, which led to the conjecture that they were government vessels of some kind. The coasting vessels increased in numbers within the bay, and were sometimes so near that their construction and rig could be plainly made out. Their hulls rose forward in a high beaked prow, and aft, in a lofty poop, while a single mast, secured by fore and back stays, rose from the centre of the vessel and was rigged with a large square sail made of canvas, there were three other smaller sails, two at the bow and one at the stern.

On passing Cape Sagami, at the entrance of the bay, the shores were observed to rise in precipitous cliffs, which connected landward with undulating hills. Deep ravines, green with rich verdure, divided the steep slopes and opened into small expanses of alluvial land, washed by the waters of the bay into the form of inlets, about the borders of which were grouped various Japanese villages. The uplands were beautifully varied with cultivated fields and tufted woods, while far behind rose the mountains, height upon height, in the inland distance. The entrance to the bay seemed well fortified, and the hills and projecting headlands of Sagami were formidable with forts, the guns of which, however, were silent; notwithstanding the threatening entrance of the strange ships. The distant shores of the province of Awa, on the east, rising opposite to Sagami in a lofty peak, and stretching beyond in picturesque summits, was still more mountainous and bore fewer marks of cultivation and a less formidable appearance, being apparently destitute of fortifications. As the squadron passed through the straits into the inner bay of Uraga the numerous fishing boats hurried out of the way, and their crews, when they fancied themselves at a sufficiently safe distance, rested upon their oars and gazed with an anxious look at the strangers.

At about five o'clock in the afternoon the squadron came to anchor off the city of Uraga, on the western side of the bay of Yedo, the sloops of war (the wind being favorable) having been cast loose a little while previous, and the four vessels took up their positions, as had been directed, opposite the shore. Just before letting go the anchors the weather cleared up, and the lofty cone of Fuji was more distinctly visible, showing high above the accompanying range of mountains which extend inland. It was estimated to be eight or ten thousand feet in height, and its position $W \frac{1}{2} N$ from Uraga, at a distance of fifty or sixty miles. As the ships proceeded to their anchorage the lead was kept going every moment, and as a constant depth of twenty-five fathoms was found the vessels kept on their headway, rounding, at moderate speed, the elevation or cliff, within which is situated the bight of Uraga. They continued rounding and moving on slowly and cautiously until the squadron had nearly reached within a mile and a half of the promontory guarding the inner entrance of the bay of Yedo, at a distance of a mile further than any foreign vessel had ever advanced, when two guns were fired from a neighboring fort, and a ball of smoke in the air showed that a rocket had been discharged. The order was at once given to let go the anchor, but as the depth of twenty-five fathoms was still found, the steamers first closed in a little more with the shore and then anchored.

Previous to anchoring, a number of Japanese guard boats had been observed coming off from the land, in pursuit, but the Commodore had given express orders, both by word and signal, forbidding the admission of any one on board either of the ships but his own, and even as to

the flag ship, he had commanded that not more than three persons, at one time, and those having business, should be allowed to come on board. It had heretofore been the practice of ships of war to admit these people indiscriminately to their decks. When the Columbus was in the bay of Yedo, there were many hundred Japanese on board of her at one time, who partook of the hospitalities of the officers without hesitation, and made themselves quite at home, but when they were spoken to about going on shore, answered by signs that it was impossible. The Commodore had, therefore, pre-determined to exercise an equal degree of exclusiveness with themselves, and to permit the Japanese functionaries to communicate only and directly with the Susquehanna. Several of the commanders in the Japanese boats signified by signs some dissatisfaction at not being permitted to come on board the ships, but the Commodore's orders were strictly obeyed.

On dropping the anchor, another gun was heard from one of the forts on shore, and when the squadron had assumed its line of anchorage, commanding with its guns the entire ranges of batteries and two considerable towns, a large number of the guard boats came from all directions, evidently prepared to take their stations around the ships, as the Japanese crews had a supply of provisions, water, clothing, sleeping mats, and other requisites for a long stay. The Commodore, however, had fully determined beforehand that they should not thus surround the ships. They made several attempts to get alongside and on board of the Saratoga, their tow lines, with which they made fast to any part of the ship, were unceremoniously cast off. They attempted to climb up by the chains, but the crew was ordered to prevent them, and the sight of pikes, cutlasses, and pistols, checked them, and when they found that our officers and men were very much in earnest, they desisted from their attempts to board.

These guard boats struck every one with admiration of the beauty of their models, which, by the way, resembled in a remarkable degree that of the yacht America. They were constructed of unpainted wood, with very sharp bows, a broad beam, a slightly tapering stern, and a clean run. They were propelled with great swiftness through, or rather over, the water, for they seemed to skim upon its surface rather than to divide it. The crews, numbering in some of the larger boats thirty or more, were tall and muscular men, whose tawny frames were naked, with the exception of a cloth about their waists. Toward night, however, the men clothed themselves with loose gowns, some of red and others of blue, with hanging sleeves, upon which were white stripes meeting in an angle at the shoulders. On their backs were emblazoned coats of arms, or some insignia, in black and other colors. Most of them were bearded and showed the hair to have been shaved on the crown, while that on the sides had been allowed to grow long and was worn plastered with some species of ointment and fastened up into a knot on the bald spot upon the top of the head. A few, however, wore caps of bamboo, in shape like a shallow basin inverted, and reminding one of Mambrino's helmet. In some of the boats the men bore tall poles, surmounted by a cruciform ornament, which seemed to indicate some military office. The men in authority wore light lacquered hats, with a coat of arms in front, probably signifying their official rank and position. The rowers stood to their oars, which worked on pivots upon the sides of the boat near the stern, and they handled them with such skill and effect that they approached the ships very rapidly, shouting loudly as they came. At the stern of each boat was a small flag with three horizontal stripes in it a white one on either side, and a black one in the middle, while in many of the boats there was beside, an additional flag, with symbols upon it. One or two persons, armed each with two swords at their sides, stood in the boats, and were evidently men of rank and authority.

One of the boats came alongside of the flag ship, and it was observed that a person on board had a scroll of paper in his hand, which the officer of the *Susquehanna* refused to receive, but which was held up to be read alongside of the *Mississippi*, when it was found to be a document in the French language, which conveyed an order to the effect that the ships should go away, and not anchor at their peril. The chief functionary, as his boat reached the side of the *Susquehanna*, made signs for the gangway ladder to be let down. This was refused, but Mr Williams, the Chinese interpreter, and Mr Portman, the Dutch, were directed to state to him that the Commodore would not receive any one but a functionary of the highest rank, and that he might return on shore. As there seemed to be some difficulty in making progress in the Japanese language, one on board the boat alongside said, in very good English, "I can speak Dutch." Mr Portman then commenced a conversation with him in that language, as his English seemed to have been exhausted in the first sentence. He appeared to be perfectly familiar with the Dutch, however, and commenced a very brisk volley of questions, many of which were not responded to. He asked if the ships came from America, and seemed to have expected them. He was very pertinacious in urging to be allowed to come on board, but was constantly refused permission, and was told that the commander of the squadron was of the highest rank, in the service to which he belonged, in the United States, and could confer only with the highest in rank at Uraga. He then stated that the vice-governor of Uraga was in the boat, and pointed to one of those in authority at his side, who, he said, held the highest position in the city, and was the proper person to be received. He was now asked why the governor himself did not come off, to which he replied that he was prevented by the laws from going on board ships in the roads, and proposed that the Commodore should appoint an officer of corresponding rank with the vice governor to confer with him, as he was desirous of communicating to the government the object of the squadron's visit. The Commodore, after some intentional delay, consented to this request, and appointed his aid, Lieutenant Contee, to receive him. The gangway ladder was accordingly lowered, and the vice-governor, *Nagazima Saboroske*, accompanied by his interpreter, *Hori Tatsnoske*, who spoke Dutch, came on board, and was received in the captain's cabin, where a conference was held, in fact, with the Commodore, who however, studiously kept himself secluded in his own cabin, and communicated with the Japanese through his aid only.

It was directed that the dignitary should be informed that the Commodore, who had been sent by his country on a friendly mission to Japan, had brought a letter from the President of the United States, addressed to the Emperor, and that he wished a suitable officer might be sent on board his ship to receive a copy of the same, in order that a day might be appointed for the Commodore formally to deliver the original. To this he replied that *Nagasaki* was the only place, according to the laws of Japan, for negotiating foreign business, and it would be necessary for the squadron to go there. In answer to this he was told that the Commodore had come purposely to Uraga because it was near to Yedo, and that he should not go to *Nagasaki*, that he expected the letter to be duly and properly received where he then was, that his intentions were perfectly friendly, but that he would allow of no indignity, and would not permit the guard boats which were collecting around the ships to remain where they were, and if they were not immediately removed, the Commodore declared that he would disperse them by force. When this was interpreted to him, the functionary suddenly left his seat, went to the gangway, and gave an order which caused most of the boats to return to the shore, but a few of them still remaining in clusters, an armed boat was sent from the ship to

the information of our countrymen, who know Commodore Perry, but for strangers who may read our story and, without this word of explanation, misapprehend the character of the man. No man is more easily approached by his fellow-men, or assumes less on account of the honorable position he fills in the service of his country.

The best proof that he judged wisely in determining on his course is in the results. The squadron was left free of all annoyance or interference on the part of the authorities during the whole period of its stay, an event unprecedented in the intercourse of Japan with foreign ships for more than two centuries. We have said there was no annoyance to the ships, but the Japanese were as yet too suspicious of foreigners not to resort to their favorite system of espionage and, therefore, though the guard vessels were withdrawn, as we have seen, there might still be observed floating here and there a boat in the distance, seemingly with the object of quietly watching the movements of the strangers, but they never came near the squadron, and were not by any act of the authorities forced upon the recognition of them, by the Americans, as guard boats. That a watchful eye was kept upon the squadron was probable. Three or four rockets were shot up from the opposite land during the afternoon, which were supposed to be signals of some purpose or other. When night came on, the presence of the ships in their waters was evidently keeping up a very lively apprehension on the part of the Japanese on shore. Beacon fires were lighted upon every hill top, and along the shores on either side as far as the eye could reach, and during the whole night the watchers on deck could hear the tolling of a great bell which was at first supposed to be that of a temple, but was probably an alarm or signal of some kind. The bay was otherwise as quiet as an inland lake, and nothing occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the night. When, however, the nine o'clock gun of the flag ship, a sixty four pounder, was fired, the report reverberated loudly through the hills on the western side of the bay, and apparently created something of a commotion on shore, for here and there the fires were observed to be immediately extinguished. There seemed, however, no reason to expect any interference, although every precaution had been taken, the ships had quite a warlike aspect, with sentinels stationed fore and aft and upon the gangways at the sides, with a pile of round shot and four stands of grape at each gun, muskets stacked on the quarter deck, and boats provided with carbines, pistols, cutlasses and other necessaries for service.

An interesting meteorological phenomenon was observed in the course of the night by Lieutenant Duer, in command of the watch, who describes it as a remarkable meteor seen from midnight until four o'clock in the morning. It made its appearance in the southward and westward and illuminated the whole atmosphere. The spars, sails, and hulls of the ships reflected its glare as distinctly as though a blue light were burning from each vessel at the same time. From the southward and westward, and about fifteen degrees above the horizon, it pursued a northerly course in a direct line for a long distance, when it fell gradually toward the sea and disappeared. Its form was that of a large blue sphere with a red, wedge shaped tail, which it could easily be observed was formed of ignited particles which resembled the sparks of a rocket as they appear upon its explosion. "The ancients," remarks the Commodore "would have construed this remarkable appearance of the heavens as a favorable omen for any enterprise they had undertaken," and adds "it may be so construed by us, as we pray God that our present attempt to bring a singular and isolated people into the family of civilized nations may succeed without resort to bloodshed."

As the sun rose next morning, gradually lifting the mist which had been spread during the night upon the surface of the bay, and still curtained, here and there, the land with its fleecy

festoons, a beautiful view was disclosed. A bold shore, occasionally broken by steep escarpments of bare gray rock, extended along the western or Sagami side of the bay, with an undulating surface brightly green with verdure, tufts of undergrowth, and scattered groups of trees. Further inland the earth rose in a range of gently swelling hills, the sides of which were covered with vegetation. Two miles below the anchorage, the shore was less abrupt, and seemed more cultivated. From Uraga to the entrance of the inner bay of Yedo, marked by a promontory a mile and a half distant, innumerable towns and villages were grouped along the shores on either side. Uraga embraces two of these towns, separated from each other by a cliff, through the larger one of which a river passes and empties into the harbor, where floated a great number of small boats and several junks. As most of the vessels bound up the bay were seen to stop in their course at Uraga, that place was supposed to be an entrepôt where certain custom dues had to be paid. Forts could be seen on the headlands here and there commanding the harbor, and as they were examined through the glass, some of them were found to be in an unfinished state, and in progress of construction or alteration. Some were mounted with cannon, though apparently of no great calibre, while others were without a gun. A length of screens had been stretched for a distance of several rods upon posts in front of the breastworks, as well as inside the forts behind the embrasures, and along parts of the shore. In the distance these screens seemed to be composed of cloth, and were marked with white and black stripes. Their purpose was not very obvious, although it was surmised that they were got up with the intention of making a false show of concealed force. The Japanese probably had not calculated upon the exactness of view afforded by a Dolland's telescope or a French opera glass. Companies of soldiers, in glaring scarlet uniforms, were seen to pass from garrison to garrison, some bearing flags with various insignia, and others large lanterns upon tall poles. The shore was lined with a formidable show of the same sort of government boats as had surrounded the ships on their arrival. They seemed to be picketed off from the town by two red flags which had been planted on the shore between them and the houses on the land.

The first approach to the *Susquehanna* from the shore was that of a boat at early sunrise next morning, (July 9th,) apparently containing a corps of artists, who came close to the ship's side, but making no attempt to come on board, busied themselves in taking sketches of the strange vessels. The important visit of the day, however, came off at seven o'clock, when two large boats rowed alongside, one of which contained a half dozen officials, whose presence was indicated by the three-striped flag at the stern. The interpreter who spoke Dutch was with them, and announced that the personage of highest authority in the city was present, and desired to come on board. The arrival of Kevamon Yezamen, (for such was his name,) who presented himself as the governor and greatest functionary of Uraga, thus plainly contradicting the declaration of the vice-governor of the day before, was then duly announced to the Commodore, who ordered that his highness should be received by Commanders Buchanan and Adams, and Lieutenant Contee, the Commodore himself still refusing, in accordance with his policy, to receive any one but a counsellor of the Empire. The governor was attired, in character with his high position, as a noble of the third rank. He wore a rich silk robe of an embroidered pattern resembling the feathers of a peacock, with borders of gold and silver. He was duly received by the officers we have named, and immediately commenced with them a conference, which, however, was in reality with the Commodore, though he still preserved his seclusion. The governor, after a long discussion, in which he more than once declared that the Japanese laws made it impossible that the President's letter should be received at Uraga, and that, even if it were, the

answer would be sent to Nagasaki, added also that the squadron must proceed thither. In answer to this he was most distinctly told that the Commodore would never consent to such an arrangement, and would persist in delivering the letter where he was; and, moreover, that if the Japanese government did not see fit to appoint a suitable person to receive the documents in his possession addressed to the Emperor that he, the Commodore, whose duty it was to deliver them, would go on shore with a sufficient force and deliver them in person, be the consequences what they might.

In answer to this, the governor said that he would return to the city and send a communication to Yedo, asking for further instructions, and he added that it would take *four days* to obtain a reply. One hour's steaming would have taken the ships in sight of Yedo, and so the governor was informed that the Commodore would wait *three days only*, (until Tuesday, the 12th,) when a definite answer would be expected.

A boat had been sent at daylight from each ship of the squadron to survey the bay and harbor of Uraga. The governor, on observing these boats, inquired what they were doing, and when he was told that they were surveying the harbor, he said it was against the Japanese laws to allow of such examinations; to which he received for reply, that the American laws command them, and that Americans were as much bound to obey the American as he was the Japanese laws. "This," remarks the Commodore, "was a second and most important point gained." During all the questions and answers the interpreter had out his tablets, and was busy taking notes, and if all the importunate inquiries of the governor had been responded to, his reporter would have enjoyed no sinecure.

At the interview, the original letter of the President, together with the Commodore's letter of credence, encased in the magnificent boxes which had been prepared in Washington, were shown to his excellency, who was evidently greatly impressed with their exquisite workmanship and costliness; and he made an offer for the first time of water and refreshments, but was told that the squadron was in no need of anything. The governor was made to understand perfectly that there would be no necessity for any further discussion until the time appointed for the delivery of the answer from the Japanese government should arrive; and he left the ship fully impressed with this understanding.

During the conference, the governor and his interpreter were requested to use the same designation in speaking of the President of the United States as that by which they distinguished the Emperor. They complied with this request, although, previous to it, they had used different terms for the two dignitaries. In a country like Japan, so governed by ceremonials of all kinds, it was necessary to guard with the strictest etiquette even the forms of speech; and it was found that by a diligent attention to the minutest and apparently most insignificant details of word and action, the desired impression was made upon Japanese diplomacy; which, as a smooth surface requires one equally smooth to touch it at every point, can only be fully reached and met by the nicest adjustment of the most polished formality.

The surveying boats, which seemed to give so much uneasiness to the governor, had been well manned and armed, and Lieutenant Bent, of the Mississippi, who was in command, was instructed not to go beyond the range of the ships' guns, while a good look-out was kept upon the surveying party, in order that assistance might be sent to them should they be attacked. In addition to the usual boat ensigns at the stern, white flags, indicative of their peaceful intentions, were borne on the bows. They spread themselves out toward the opposite shore as they pulled away, sounding at every boat's length, and had reached about two miles further up

miles ahead the bell cliff, which guards both sides of the entrance to the inner harbor leading to Yedo, were readily discernible. Nearer, the houses of Uraga could be so plainly seen that their peculiar forms and construction could be made out, and they were perceived to be built of wood, with roofs of various forms—pointed, square, and pyramidal. Most of the buildings were of the natural color of the wood, somewhat discolored, however, by time, while some few were painted white. The Japanese boats and junks, to the number of several hundreds, extending from the headland, off which the *Susichanna* was anchored, to the harbor, were so distinctly visible as to be readily counted. Nearer still, the eye could minutely distinguish the parts of the unfinished forts that were in the process of construction on the heights opposite to the ship.

The next day was Sunday, (July 10th,) and, as usual, divine service was held on board the ships and, in accordance with proper reverence for the day, no communication was held with the Japanese authorities. During the day, however, a boat came off with a striped flag, which indicated the high rank of the three or four Japanese sitting beneath its awning and languidly using their fans. They were evidently persons of distinction, and had the same intelligent expression and the remarkably courtly manners which were uniformly observed in all those of the better class. On coming alongside they, through their interpreter whom they had brought, requested permission to come on board. They were asked if they had any business with the Commodore, and answering that they had none, but merely wished to have a talk, were politely informed that, by his orders, they could not be received. Through the day, preparations were observed to be still proceeding on the land, the soldiers moved busily, with their glistening shields and long spears, about the batteries in sight, and some seemed to be engaged in removing the sham forts of striped canvas, and in training more guns upon the squadron. The reverberations of the report of a cannon, fired off apparently some distance up the bay, echoed through the hulls, and were distinctly heard on board the ships. At night, the beacon fires, though fewer in number than on the previous evening, again blazed, while the deep-toned bell tolled as usual until morning. Everything, however, remained on board the ships tranquil and without interruption, as befitted the Christian day of rest.

On the next morning early (Monday) the surveying boats were dispatched higher up the bay, and Commander Lee, of the steamer *Mississippi*, was directed to get his ship under way to protect them, if necessary. The governor of Uraga, on seeing the *Mississippi* going higher up, came on board, although he had been told that there would be no necessity for further communication or discussion until the reply from Yedo was received.

The Commodore had sent the *Mississippi* and the boats on the service, in part, for effect, being satisfied that the very circumstance of approaching nearer to Yedo with a powerful ship would alarm the authorities, and induce them to give a more favorable answer to his demands. It happened as was expected. The governor pretended that his visit to the ship simply for the purpose of bringing the information that it was very probable the letters—being, as was then supposed, the translations of the originals) would be received on the same day, and forwarded to Yedo. His evident object in coming on board, however, was certain for what purpose the *Mississippi* and the surveying boats had ascended the bay, he accordingly put the question. The Commodore, anticipating the inquiry, directed that the governor should be informed, unless the business which had brought the squadron to the bay of Yedo was arranged

during the present visit, he, the Commodore, would be obliged to return in the ensuing spring with a larger force, and, as the anchorage in front of Uruga was not convenient or safe, he was desirous of seeking a more favorable situation nearer to Yedo, which would facilitate his communication with that city.

The surveying party, as on the previous occasion, was composed of boats from each ship of the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant Bent. They were sent out with general directions from the Commodore to go as far up the bay toward Yedo as possible, without getting out of signal distance from the squadron, and to avoid giving any occasion of conflict with the people of the country. Their departure was watched with considerable anxiety by those on board the *Susquehanna*. Thirty fathoms of her cable had been taken in, and the remainder was all ready to slip, while steam was got up, to be in readiness for any emergency. The movements on shore were quite lively in the distance, on the eastern shore, large numbers of soldiers—as many apparently as a thousand—were seen to march down from the higher ground to the beach, and there embark in boats, which put off immediately in the direction of the surveying party. And, during the whole time, the various batteries were busy with the movements of the troop, who seemed to be either preparing for hostilities, or attempting to make a formidable show of force.

The boats proceeded from ten to twelve miles further toward Yedo than the anchorage of the squadron. In proceeding up the bay, numbers of government vessels appeared, warning off the intruders, and some thirty five put off in a direction fronting the course of the surveying boats, as if intending to intercept them. Lieutenant Bent, who was in advance, ordered his men to rest on their oars, and to aim their bayonets to their muskets, but this proceeding did not seem to have the effect he had hoped for, of stopping the Japanese boats. They still came on. The lieutenant, anxious to avoid a rupture, then changed his course somewhat, to prevent an immediate collision, and dispatched a boat for the *Mississippi*, which was about two miles astern. The desired effect was soon produced by the approach of the steamer, and there was no apparent disposition shown afterward to interfere with the party, which continued the exploration. Deep soundings were found the whole distance, with a soft bottom of mud. A channel seemed to exist at the furthest point reached, in the centre the lead gave a depth of twenty fathoms, while on the sides it struck upon banks of mud at not more than five fathoms. It was inferred that there were deep soundings still further, and that the squadron might readily push on with safety to within a few miles of Yedo itself. At the extreme distance of the boats passage there was a small cove, cut out, as it were, from the larger, which it was supposed, would probably afford an excellent anchorage. On either side the shores were abrupt, and extended back into hills, and from the position of the boats at this point a town was observed on the right side of the bay of Yedo. The *Mississippi* had disappeared for some time from the view of those on board the other ships, but, just as the signal gun was about to be fired for her recall, she shot round the promontory, some two or three miles up the bay, which had concealed her from sight, came steaming down, with the boats in tow, and was soon quietly settled at her old anchorage, passing on her way between the *Susquehanna* and the *Uruga* shore, and attracting the attention of numbers of soldiers on the latter who came out to see her pass.

The bay was covered all day, as usual with the Japanese junk, sailing up or down apparently carrying on a brisk commerce, and not at all disturbed by the presence of the squadron. Some of the fishing smacks and other boats were also met at this approach.

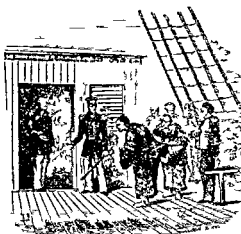
pretty near to the ships, but obviously merely to gratify curiosity, as their crews would stand up and gaze intently, but gave no sign either of alarm or hostility. The trading vessels were observed to stop at a town on the opposite side in coming down, and at Uraga in going up, in accordance, probably, as has already been intimated, with some regulation of the customs. Everything passed tranquilly, and the next day, which was to bring some reply or other to the Commodore's demands, was looked forward to with deep solicitude and interest by every man on board the ships.



In the Bay of Yedo

CHAPTER XIII.

REPLY FROM THE COURT AT YEDO — EFFORTS OF THE JAPANESE TO GET THE SQUADRON OUT OF THE BAY OF YEDO — COMMODORE'S FIRM REFUSAL TO LEAVE URAGA — AGREEMENT OF THE EMPEROR TO RECEIVE THROUGH A COMMISSIONER THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER — HIGH BREEDING OF THE JAPANESE GENTLEMEN — NOT ILL INFORMED — SURVEY OF THE BAY OF YEDO — FOGS OF JAPAN — SECOND VISIT FROM THE GOVERNOR OF URAGA — HE BRINGS A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR AUTHORIZING A PRINCE OF THE EMPIRE TO RECEIVE IN HIS NAME THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER — ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE COMMODORE'S RECEPTION ON SHORE TO DELIVER THE LETTER — MINUTE ATTENTION OF THE JAPANESE TO ALL DETAILS AND CEREMONIALS — PREPARATIONS IN THE SQUADRON FOR THE VISIT ON SHORE AT THE RECEPTION — SHIPS BROUGHT NEAR THE LAND SO AS TO COMMAND THE PLACE OF MEETING — LANDING AND RECEPTION, AND DELIVERY OF THE LETTER AND OTHER DOCUMENTS — PRINCES OF IDZU AND IWAMA — CONTENTS OF PRESIDENT'S LETTER — COMMODORE'S LETTER OF CREDENCE, AND HIS LETTERS TO THE EMPEROR — RECEIPT GIVEN BY THE JAPANESE FOR THE PAPERS — RETURN TO THE SHIPS



the day appointed for the reception of a reply from Yedo (Tuesday, July 12) had now arrived. Accordingly, at about half past nine o'clock in the morning, three boats were seen to approach the steamer *Susquehanna* from the shores of Uraga. These were different from the usual government craft, and seemed, unlike the others, to be built after an European model, the rowers sat to their oars, and moved them as our boatmen do, though somewhat awkwardly, instead of standing and sculling at the sides, in accordance with the usual Japanese practice. The construction of the boats was evidently very strong, and their models fair. Their masts, sails, and rigging were of the ordinary Japanese

fashion. The crews were numerous, there being thirty in the largest boat, and thirteen in each of the others, and their great swarthy frames were clothed in the usual uniform of loose blue dresses slashed with white stripes.

The boat in advance was distinguished, in addition to the government mark of a horizontal black stripe across her broad sail, by the black and white flag, which indicated the presence of some officers of distinction, and such in fact were now on board of her. As she approached nearer to the ship, the governor, Kayama Yezaman, in his rich silken robes, was recognised, seated on mats spread in the centre of the deck of the vessel, and surrounded by his interpreters and suite.

The advance boat now came alongside, leaving the other two floating at some distance from the *Susquehanna*. His highness, *Kayama Yezaiman*, with his two interpreters, *Hori Tatsnoske*, the principal, and *Fatsisko Tokushumo*, his second, were admitted at once on board, and having been received with due formality, were ushered into the presence of Captains *Buchanan* and *Adams*, who were prepared to communicate with them.

The Commodore had, previously to the arrival of the governor, written the following letter to the Emperor.

“UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE *SUSQUEHANNA*,

Uraga, July 12, 1853.

“The Commander-in-chief of the United States naval forces in these seas, being invested with full powers to negotiate treaties, is desirous of conferring with one of the highest officers of the Empire of Japan, in view of making arrangements for the presentation of the original of his letter of credence, as also the original of a letter with which he is charged, addressed to his Imperial Majesty by the President of the United States.

“It is hoped that an early day will be appointed for the proposed interview.

“To his Imperial Majesty the EMPEROR OF JAPAN.”

The governor's first statement was to the effect that there had been a misapprehension as to the delivery of the translations of the papers before the originals had been received. Although the Commodore was certain that there had been no such misunderstanding, nevertheless he, on the second interview in the course of the afternoon, consented, after much discussion, to deliver the translations and originals, as also a letter from himself to the Emperor, at the same time, provided the latter should appoint a suitable officer to receive them directly from the hands of the Commodore, who repeated that he would consent to present them to no other than a Japanese dignitary of the highest rank. The governor then said that a building would be erected on shore for the reception of the Commodore and his suite, and that a high official personage, specially appointed by the Emperor, would be in attendance to receive the letters. He, however, added that no answer would be given in the bay of *Yedo*, but that it would be transmitted to *Nagasaki*, through the Dutch or Chinese superintendents. This being reported to the Commodore, he wrote the following memorandum and directed it to be translated into Dutch, and fully explained to the governor.

“The Commander-in-chief will not go to *Nagasaki*, and will receive no communication through the Dutch or Chinese.

“He has a letter from the President of the United States to deliver to the Emperor of Japan, or to his secretary of foreign affairs, and he will deliver the original to none other—if this friendly letter of the President to the Emperor is not received and duly replied to, he will consider his country insulted, and will not hold himself accountable for the consequences.

“He expects a reply of some sort in a few days, and he will receive such reply nowhere but in this neighborhood.” [*Bay of Uraga.*]

When this was communicated to the governor, he took his departure, probably to consult some higher authority, as doubtless there was more than one high officer of the court at *Uraga*, secretly directing the negotiations. The interview had lasted three hours, and it was fully one o'clock before the governor left the ship. All passed in the most quiet way without any interruption to the usual courtesies of friendly negotiation. The shore showed every indication

of tranquillity, and no movement was observed on the part of the fortresses, or the many government boats along the shore

The governor, in accordance with his promise on leaving in the morning, returned in the afternoon accompanied, as usual, by his interpreters and suite. He came off, however, in one of the ordinary Japanese boats, and not, as earlier in the day, in the vessel built after the European model. Captains Buchanan and Adams were in readiness to receive the party, and resumed the renewed conference with the same form and ceremony as before, the Commodore still preserving his seclusion and communicating with the Japanese only through others. The conversation is here given verbatim as reported.

CONVERSATION

Present Captains Buchanan and Adams, Lieutenant Contee, Flag Lieutenant, and Yezaman, governor of Uruga, and interpreters

Yezaman As it will take a great deal of time to send up the copies of the letters first, and the originals afterward, I propose that the originals and the copies be delivered together, when the high officer comes. The governor and the high officer will do their best to entertain the Admiral and give him a suitable reception.

Capt Buchanan That is not the object of the Commodore. He wishes these communications to go because there is among them a letter to the Emperor from himself, which he desires to send to Yedo with the copies. The reply to the President's letter is not of so much consequence just now. We want a reply to the Commodore's letter which is in the package.

Yezaman If you send the original letter we will reply to it as soon as possible. We are here for the purpose of receiving the letter from the President to the Emperor, but now you speak of a letter from the Admiral to the Emperor.

Capt B The letter from the Admiral is in the package containing the copies of the President's letter. It states that he has in his possession the original letter of the President, and is empowered by the President to deliver it in person to the Emperor, or to a high officer of equal rank with himself, appointed by the Emperor.

Yezaman We are very sorry that you separate the two, it would be better to send the originals at once with the copies.

Capt B That is impossible. The letter of the Admiral states that he has the original letter of the President, and is empowered to deliver it, either in person or to an officer of his own rank, when the Emperor is aware of the fact that the Admiral has the letter, then he will appoint an officer of the same rank to receive the original, and the Admiral will return at some future day to receive the answer.

Yezaman Can you not contrive to manage it in such a way that the original letter may be sent with the copies?

Capt B It cannot be done.

Yezan When the ships first came it was not mentioned that the copies must be sent first, and not the original letters, and now you mention it.

Capt B During the first visit you made here, you were shown the original letters, and also the copies, and the same statement was then made by us as now—(After a pause *Captain B* resumes)—Will the high officer who will come here be accredited by the Emperor to receive the letters from the Admiral?

Yezaiman. He has the authorization of the Emperor.

Capt. B. Will he have any proof to show that he is thus authorized?

Yezaiman. Yes, he can prove it.

Capt. B. One of the letters is from the President, informing the Emperor of Japan that Commodore Perry is sent as a high officer appointed by himself, and Commodore Perry will expect similar credentials on the part of the officer appointed to speak with him.

Yezaiman. He will receive the letter, but cannot enter into any negotiations.

Capt. B. What is the rank and official title of the officer who is appointed?—(*While the interpreter is writing the title of the officer in question, in Chinese characters, Captains Buchanan and Adams retire to consult with the Commodore.*)

Lieutenant Contee. When will the high officers be ready to receive the letter?

Interpreter. To-morrow or the day after.

Lieut. C. Where is the house?

Interpreter. On the shore.

Lieut. C. Can you point it out from here?

Interpreter. It cannot be seen.

Lieut. C., (repeating his last question.) Can you point it out from here?

Interpreter. It is on the other side of the hills—you can see it from another position.

Lieut. C. What was the name of the officer who came on board on the day of our arrival?

Interpreter. Nagazhima Saberoske.

(*Captains Buchanan and Adams now returned*)

Captain Buchanan. Captain Adams and I have just had a conversation with the Admiral.* He says that, since you appear to have wholly misunderstood the matter about the letter, if you can show proof that an officer of the proper rank is appointed to receive them, he will waive the matter in dispute, and deliver the original at the same time with the copies. But he requires strict evidence that the officer who shall meet him shall be of the necessary rank, and that he has been specially appointed for the purpose by the Emperor.

Yezaiman. Nagasaki is the proper place to receive letters from foreign nations, and because Uraga is not an appropriate place, the officer will not be allowed to converse, but only to receive the letters.

Capt. B. He is only desired to receive the letters. Will he come on board, or will the letters be delivered on shore?

Yezaiman. He will not come on board, but will receive them on shore.

Capt. B. Before the letters are delivered, the credentials of the officer must be translated into Dutch, signed with the proper signatures, and sent on board the Admiral.

Yezaiman. He will be accredited to receive the letter, but cannot speak.

Capt. B. He will not be desired to speak, but he must have a paper signed by the Emperor, stating that he is empowered to receive the letters.

Yezaiman. He will have a document properly signed.

[*Captains Buchanan now directed Mr. Postman to write in Dutch the declaration he had made, and to give it to the interpreter.* The following is the English version: "There has been a

* "It is proper to remark that the title of Admiral was necessarily used at these interviews, to designate your rank, as we found Yezaiman's interpreters were familiar with it, and were entirely unacquainted with that of Commodore."—*Extract from Captain Adams' official report to Commodore Perry*

great deal of misunderstanding about receiving the original letter and the translated copies, whether to be received together or separately. The Admiral now is willing to meet with a high officer of Yedo, holding rank in Japan corresponding to the rank of Admiral in the United States. This officer shall be accredited, viz possess a writing properly signed by the Emperor, authorizing him to receive the said letters. Of this writing or letter of credence shall be made a copy, translated into Dutch, and the same copy be transmitted to the Admiral before the interview takes place.

"At this interview there shall be no discussions whatever, no more than an exchange of civilities and compliments.

"The Admiral does not insist upon receiving an answer to the original letter of the President immediately, but will come back for that purpose after some months.]

Yezaiman The high officer will not be allowed to speak on the matter, only to make and return compliments.

Capt B That is all that is necessary.

Yezaiman The high officer will be here the day after to morrow, to receive the letter on shore.

Capt B At what hour?

Yezaiman At eight o'clock in the morning. As soon as we see the flag hoisted we will come on board the ship.

Capt B Will the high officer bring the copy of the letter empowering him to act, properly certified?

Yezaiman He will bring it.

Interpreter The governor is very grateful for his kind reception on board.

Capt B We are very happy to see him. Where is the place of reception?

Interpreter I can point out the place, but the house cannot be seen.

Yezaiman Will the Admiral await the Emperor's answer to the President's letter?

Capt B No, the Admiral will not now wait for it.

Yezaiman When will he come for a reply?

Capt B He will return in a few months to receive the Emperor's reply.

Yezaiman I would desire a statement in writing to that effect. [There being no satisfactory answer to this, *Yezaiman* continued.] The high officer who receives the letter of the President will give a receipt for it, as an assurance that it has been received.

Capt B Can you not appoint a place nearer the ship? The distance is very great for the men to pull in a boat. The Admiral will be satisfied to meet the high officer in a tent, or in one of the forts nearer the ships. The interview will not be long.

Interpreter The house is not far off, it is less than a Japanese mile.

Capt B Can you not arrange to have it nearer the ships?

Interpreter The governor says he will endeavor to arrange it.

Capt B Can you let us know to morrow morning?

Interpreter Yes.

"The conference here ended.

Kayama Yezaiman and his companions seemed to be in the highest good humor, and readily availed themselves of the proffered courtesies of the officers of the *Susquehanna*, which were accepted and responded to in a manner indicating the most polished good breeding. In

receiving the hospitalities of their hosts, it may be remarked that they partook freely, and seemed to relish particularly the whiskey and brandy which formed part of the entertainment. The governor especially appeared to appreciate the foreign liquors, particularly when mixed with sugar, and smacked his lips with great gusto, as he drained his glass to its last sweetened dregs. His interpreters, in the growing freedom of convivial enjoyment, made merry over his highness's bacchanalian proclivity, and laughingly expressing their alarm lest Yezaiman should take a drop too much, remarked, "his face is already growing red."

Though always preserving a certain gentlemanly aplomb and that self-cultivated manner which bespeaks high breeding, these Japanese dignitaries were disposed to be quite social, and shared freely and gaily in conversation. Nor did their knowledge and general information fall short of their elegance of manners and amiability of disposition. They were not only well bred, but not ill-educated, as they were proficient in the Dutch, Chinese, and Japanese languages, and not unacquainted with the general principles of science and of the facts of the geography of the world. When a terrestrial globe was placed before them, and their attention was called to the delineation on it of the United States, they immediately placed their fingers on Washington and New York, as if perfectly familiar with the fact that one was the capital, and the other the commercial metropolis of our country. They also, with equal promptitude, pointed out England, France, Denmark, and other kingdoms of Europe. Their inquiries in reference to the United States showed them not to be entirely ignorant of the facts connected with the material progress of our country, thus, when they asked if roads were not cut through our mountains, they were referring (as was supposed) to tunnels on our railroads. And this supposition was confirmed on the interpreter's asking, as they examined the ship's engine, whether it was not a similar machine, although smaller, which was used for travelling on the American roads. They also inquired whether the canal across the isthmus was yet finished, alluding probably to the Panama railroad which was then in progress of construction. They knew, at any rate, that labor was being performed to connect the two oceans, and called it by the name of something they had seen, a canal.

After refreshments and conversation in the cabin, Yezaiman and his interpreters were invited to inspect the ship, an offer which they accepted with great politeness, and as they came upon deck, notwithstanding there were crowds of officers and men around who could scarce repress the manifestation of their curiosity, the Japanese never for a moment lost their self-possession, but showed the utmost composure and quiet dignity of manner. They evinced an intelligent interest in all the various arrangements of the vessel, observed the big gun and rightly styled it a "Paixhan," exhibited none of that surprise which would naturally be expected from those who were beholding for the first time the wonderful art and mechanism of a perfected steamship. The engine evidently was an object of great interest to them, but the interpreters showed that they were not entirely unacquainted with its principles. Much of this cool but not unobservant composure may have been affected, in accordance with a studied policy, but yet, there can be no doubt, that however backward the Japanese themselves may be in practical science, the best educated among them are tolerably well informed of its progress among more civilized or rather cultivated nations.

On leaving the cabin, the Japanese dignitaries had left their swords behind, two of which are always worn by those of certain rank in the empire. This gave an opportunity for inspection, on the part of the curious, of these badges of authority, which seemed to be, in accordance with

their purpose, more suited for show than service. The blades, however, were apparently of good steel and temper, and highly polished, although their shape as well as that of their hilts, without a guard, was awkwardly constructed for use. The mountings were of pure gold, and the scabbards of shark skin, remarkably well manufactured. The visit of the governor was prolonged into the evening, and it was seven o'clock before he took his departure, when he and his interpreters left the ship with their usual graceful courtesies, bowing at every step, and smiling in an amiable yet dignified manner. They were evidently favorably impressed with their reception and all they had seen. The studied politeness which marked their intercourse with our officers was evidently not assumed for the occasion, for it is so habitual with them that in their ordinary relations with each other they preserve the same stately courtesy, and it was observed, that no sooner had Yezaiman and his interpreters entered their boat alongside the *Susquehanna*, than they commenced saluting each other as formally as if they had met for the first time and were passing through the ceremonials of a personal introduction. While these scenes were in transaction on board, the boats of the squadron sent out by the Commodore were kept busy all day sounding and observing as on previous occasions.

The next day was Wednesday, (July 13th,) and the visit of the governor was naturally expected at an early hour, in fulfilment of his promise. There was, however, no indication through the morning of his coming, and every thing remained in a state of tranquil expectation. There seemed to be some little movement on the part of the authorities, as far as could be gathered from an observation of the neighboring land. From the opposite shores numerous vessels, loaded with soldiers, crossed to the Uraga side, and a large junk with the usual government flag and insignia put into the harbor. The brisk trade of the bay was carried on as usual, and Japanese boats, both large and small, were moving up and down in constant circulation. The various towns and villages grouped about the bay were thus interchanging their elements of life and, stimulated into commercial activity by the throb from the busy heart of the great city, poured into Yedo their overflowing abundance. There were no less than sixty-seven junks counted as passing up the bay during the single day.

The weather continued warm, with the thermometer indicating as high a point as 87° , but the heat was tempered by an agreeable sea breeze. The view of the shores was much obscured at times by the haze which is said to be so prevalent on the Japanese coast; but in the experience of the squadron the weather hitherto had been remarkably clear, and this day was the foggiest that had been seen since the ships arrived in the bay. Nothing could be seen of the great land mark—the lofty peak of Fusi—which, by the way, was generally more plainly visible toward the evening than during the day, and was often observed beautifully distinct at sunset, when its summits would glow with a rich halo of crimson light.

The expected visit of the governor occurred at last, at about four o'clock in the afternoon. His highness Kawanu Yezaimin, accompanied, as usual, by his first and second interpreters, presented himself, with a thousand apologies for not having come earlier, as the high officer from Yedo had but just arrived. The apologies having been made, the governor exhibited the original order of the Emperor, addressed to the functionary who had been appointed to receive the Commodore. The Emperor's letter was short, and was enclosed in a large seal attached to it. This imperial quistle, which was wrapped in velvet, and enclosed in a box made of sandal-wood, was treated by the governor with such reverence that he would allow no one to touch it. A copy of it in Dutch, and a certificate verifying the authenticity of the document.

ind of the Emperor's seal attached thereto, given under the hand of Kayama Yezaiman, the governor, were also presented. The translations were as follows:

Translation of letter of credence given by the Emperor of Japan to his highness, Toda, Prince of Idzu

'I send you to Uraga to receive the letter of the President of the United States to me, which letter has recently been brought to Uraga by the Admiral, upon receiving which you will proceed to Yedo, and take the same to me

[Here is the Emperor's seal]

"SIXTH MONTH IN 1853

Translation of certificate of Kayama Yezaiman, governor of Uraga, verifying the authenticity of the Emperor's letter and seal

"You can rest assured that the high officer who has been accredited by the Emperor of Japan himself, and who consequently comes here to Uraga from Yedo for the purpose of receiving the original and translated letters, is of very high rank, equal to that of the Lord Admiral. I do assure that

"KAYAMA YEZAIMAN"

The governor, in the course of the conference, took care to state that the person appointed by the Emperor had no authority to enter into discussions with the Commodore, but was merely empowered to receive the papers and convey them to his sovereign. He also stated that he had made inquiry as to the practicability of changing the place of meeting, and said that, as a suitable building had already been erected, it would be inconvenient to change. The Commodore was prepared for this reply, and as he could not know whether any treachery was intended or not, he had determined to provide, as far as he could, against every contingency, and had therefore ordered the surveying party to examine the little bay at the head of which the building had been erected for his reception. The officer sent upon this service promptly performed the duty, and reported that the ships could be brought within gun shot of the place, where great numbers of the people had been observed employed in the completion of the building, in transporting furniture, and in otherwise preparing for the occasion.

The governor offered to accompany a boat to the place appointed for the reception, but this was declined, and he was informed that, as it did not befit the dignity of the Commodore to proceed a long distance in a small boat, the squadron would be removed to a position nearer the building designed for the reception. It was then agreed that the Commodore and his party should leave the ships between eight and nine o'clock the next day, (Thursday), although the Japanese seemed particularly anxious that the interview should take place at an earlier hour, assigning as a reason that the heat of the day might thus be avoided.

The question was now asked as to how many officers would accompany the Commodore on the occasion, to which they received the answer that he would be followed by a large retinue, since it was the custom of the United States that when an officer of high rank bears a such an attendance as will be respectful to the power to which he is sent. Accordingly, the governor was informed that all the officers who could be spared from the squadron would accompany the Commodore, as the greater number would imply the greater compliment.

In the course of the conference, the Japanese dignitaries showed their great regard for ceremony by adverting to various minute points of etiquette in reference to the approaching reception. They announced that all the Japanese officers would be clothed in full official costume, and not in the dresses worn on ordinary occasions. They seemed to be considerably troubled because they would not be able to seat their visitors, on the morrow, in the same kind of arm chair as that then occupied by themselves in the cabin, and apologized for not having any such. They were no less anxious on the score of the wines and brandies, and begged that they might be excused for not offering the same as they had been regaled with, since the country did not possess them. They were told to dismiss their solicitude on these points, that, as the practice of hospitality, and manners and customs, necessarily differed in different countries, it was not reasonable to expect to find American habits prevailing in Japan, and that the Commodore would be satisfied to be seated in the same manner as the dignitary appointed to meet him, while the other American officers would content themselves with such seats as were provided for their equals in rank among the Japanese.

They then made some inquiries in regard to the minute details of the approaching ceremony, as to whether the Commodore would present the President's letter directly from his own hand into that of the Japanese commissioner, whose name and title, by the way, were now announced as Toda Idzu no-Kami, first Counsellor of the Empire.

It was asked whether the Commodore would immediately return to his ship after delivering the letter, and also when he would come back to Japan to receive an answer. The Chinese interpreter, Mr Williams, showed them a map or plan of Yedo, which they said must have been drawn some seventy years ago, as the capital had changed much since the plan was made, having greatly increased in size, and much improved. They, however, recognized on the plan various conspicuous places, and pointed them out very readily, as if politely willing to gratify the natural curiosity of their company.

The whole conference had lasted about two hours and a half, and when the Japanese functionaries rose to depart it was already evening. They left the ship with the usual polite courtesies, bowing, as usual, at every step, and the chief interpreter, Hori Tatznoske, who had evidently a great aptitude for the acquisition of foreign languages, mustered English enough to say very distinctly as he departed, "Want to go home."

The Commodore, in preparation for the coming event of the next morning, summoned his captains, from the several vessels of the squadron, on board the flag ship. Orders were then given that the vessels should be removed, early in the morning, to an anchorage in line, covering the whole bay, in front of the place of reception,* as the Commodore was resolved to be prepared against any possible treachery or duplicity on the part of the people with whom he had to deal, and as the object of the Japanese in the selection of this place of meeting was not very apparent to his mind. It was also ordered that all the officers who could possibly leave the ships should appear in full uniform, and accompany the Commodore to the reception, in order that he might present as imposing a retinue as practicable. The surveying boats had been kept busy during the day, completing their observations, and were allowed to proceed with their work without any molestation from the native authorities.

The Japanese seemed no less busy in active preparation for the morning's ceremony than the

* Marked on the chart as Reception Bay

Americans Various government vessels sailed down the bay, and a large fleet of small boats arrived on the Uraga shore from the opposite coast, evidently preparatory to the approaching occasion. A constant sound of hammers, intermingled with the noisy voices of Japanese laborers, arising as was supposed from the quarter where the building was in progress, disturbed the quiet of the night and was prolonged into the morning watches. All was busy preparation for the coming day.

Thursday, (July 14) opened with a sun that was somewhat obscured at early dawn, but which soon came out brightly and dispelled the fogs and clouds which overhung the land and seemed to give an inauspicious aspect to the occasion. As the atmosphere cleared and the shores were disclosed to view, the steady labors of the Japanese during the night were revealed in the showy effect on the Uraga shore. Ornamental screens of cloth had been so arranged as to give a more distinct prominence, as well as the appearance of greater size to the bastions and forts, and two tents had been spread among the trees. The screens were stretched tightly in the usual way upon posts of wood, and each interval between the posts was thus distinctly marked, and had, in the distance, the appearance of panelling. Upon these seeming panels were emblazoned the imperial arms, alternating with the device of a scarlet flower bearing large heart shaped leaves. Flags and streamers, upon which were various designs represented in gay colors, hung from the several angles of the screens, while behind them thronged crowds of soldiers, arrayed in a costume which had not been before observed, and which was supposed to belong to high occasions only. The main portion of the dress was a species of frock of a dark color, with short skirts, the waists of which were gathered in with a sash, and which was without sleeves, the arms of the wearers being bare.

All on board the ships were alert from the earliest hour, making the necessary preparations. Steam was got up and the anchors were weighed that the ships might be moved to a position where their guns would command the place of reception. The sailing vessels, however, because of a calm, were unable to get into position. The officers, seamen, and marines who were to accompany the Commodore were selected, and as large a number of them mustered as could possibly be spared from the whole squadron. All, of course, were eager to bear a part in the ceremonies of the day, but all could not possibly go, as a sufficient number must be left to do ships duty. Many of the officers and men were selected by lot, and when the full complement, which amounted to nearly three hundred, was filled up, each one busied himself in getting his person ready for the occasion. The officers, as had been ordered, were in full official dress, while the sailors and marines were in their naval and military uniforms of blue and white.

Before eight bells in the morning watch had struck, the Susuehanna and Mississippi moved slowly down the bay. Simultaneously with this movement of our ships, six Japanese boats were observed to sail in the same direction, but more within the land. The government striped flag distinguished two of them, showing the presence of some high officials, while the others carried red banners, and were supposed to have on board a retinue or guard of soldiers. On doubling the head land which separated the former anchorage from the bay below, the preparations of the Japanese on the shore came suddenly into view. The land bordering the head of the bay was gay with a long stretch of painted screens of cloth, upon which was emblazoned the arms of the Emperor. Nine tall standards stood in the centre of an immense number of banners of divers lively colors, which were arranged on either side, until the whole formed a crescent of variously tinted flags which fluttered brightly in the rays of the morning sun. From the tall

standards were suspended broad pennons of rich scarlet which swept the ground with their flowing length. On the beach in front of this display were ranged regiments of soldiers, who stood in fixed order, evidently arranged to give an appearance of martial force, that the Americans might be duly impressed with the military power of the Japanese.

As the beholder faced the bay, he saw on the left of the village of Gori Hama a straggling group of peaked roofed houses, built between the beach and the base of the high ground which ran in green acclivities behind, and ascended from height to height to the distant mountains. A luxuriant valley or gorge, walled in with richly wooded hills, opened at the head of the bay, and breaking the uniformity of the curve of the shore gave a beautiful variety to the landscape. On the right some hundred Japanese boats, or more, were arranged in parallel lines along the margin of the shore, with a red flag flying at the stern of each. The whole effect, though not startling, was novel and cheerful, and every thing combined to give a pleasing aspect to the picture. The day was bright, with a clear sunlight which seemed to give fresh vitality alike to the verdant hill-sides, and the gay banners and the glittering soldiery. Back from the beach, the building, just constructed for the reception, rose in three pyramidal shaped roofs, high above the surrounding houses. It was covered in front by striped cloth, which was extended in screens to either side. It had a new, fresh look, indicative of its recent erection, and with its peaked summits was not unlike, in the distance, a group of very large ricks of grain.

Two boats approached as the steamers neared the opening of the bay and when the anchors were dropped they came alongside the *Susquehanna*. Kayama Iezuman, with his two interpreters, came on board, followed immediately by Nagazima Saboroske and an officer in attendance, who had come in the second boat. They were duly received at the gangway and conducted to seats on the quarter deck. All were dressed in full official costume, somewhat different from their ordinary garments. Their gowns though of the usual shape, were much more elaborately adorned. The material was of very rich silk brocade of gay colors, turned up with yellow velvet, and the whole dress was highly embroidered with gold lace in various figures, among which was conspicuously displayed on the back, sleeves, and breast the arms of the wearer. Saboroske, the sub-governor of Uraga wore a pair of very broad but very short trousers, which, when his legs (which was not often the case) stood still and together, looked very much like a slit petticoat, while below, his nether limbs were partly naked and partly covered by black woollen socks. Saboroske, in spite of his elaborate toilette and his mien, all belittled by his comical appearance provoked mirth rather than admiration. He had, in fact, very much the appearance of an unusually brilliant knave of trumps.

A signal was now hoisted from the *Susquehanna* as a summons for the boats from the other ships, and in the course of half an hour they had all pulled alongside with their various officers, sailors, and marines, detailed for the day's ceremonies. The launches and cutters numbered no less than fifteen, and presented quite an imposing array and with all on board them, in proper uniform, a picturesque effect was not wanting. Captain Buchanan having taken his place in his barge, led the way, flanked on either side by the two Japanese boats containing the governor and vice-governor of Uraga with their respective suites and these dignitaries acted as markers of ceremony and pointed out the course to the American flotilla. The rest of the ships followed after in order, with the cutters containing the two bands of the steamers, who enlivened the occasion with their cheerful music.

The boats skimmed briskly over the smooth waters; for such was the skill and consequent rapidity of the Japanese scullers that our sturdy oarsmen were put to their mettle to keep up with their guides. When the boats had reached half way to the shore the thirteen guns of the *Susquehanna* began to boom away and re-echo among the hills. This announced the departure of the Commodore who, stepping into his barge, was rowed off to the land.

The guides in the Japanese boats pointed to the landing place toward the centre of the curved shore, where a temporary wharf had been built out from the beach by means of bags of sand and straw. The advance boat soon touched the spot, and Captain Buchanan, who commanded the party, sprang ashore, being the first of the Americans who landed in the Kingdom of Japan. He was immediately followed by Major Zeilin, of the marines. The rest of the boats now pulled in and disembarked their respective loads. The marines (one hundred) marched up the wharf and formed into line on either side, facing the sea; then came the hundred sailors, who were also ranged in rank and file as they advanced, while the two bands brought up the rear. The whole number of Americans, including sailors, marines, musicians, and officers, amounted to nearly three hundred; no very formidable array, but still quite enough for a peaceful occasion, and composed of very vigorous, able-bodied men, who contrasted strongly with the smaller and more effeminate looking Japanese. These latter had mustered in great force, the amount of which the governor of Uraga stated to be five thousand; but, seemingly, they far outnumbered that. Their line extended around the whole circuit of the beach, from the further extremity of the village to the abrupt acclivity of the hill which bounded the bay on the northern side; while an immense number of the soldiers thronged in, behind and under cover of the cloth screens which stretched along the rear. The loose order of this Japanese army did not betoken any very great degree of discipline. The soldiers were tolerably well armed and equipped. Their uniform was very much like the ordinary Japanese dress. Their arms were swords, spears, and match-locks. Those in front were all infantry, archers and lancers; but large bodies of cavalry were seen behind, somewhat in the distance; as if held in reserve. The horses of these seemed of a fine breed, hardy, of good bottom, and brisk in action; and these troopers, with their rich caparisons, presented at least a showy cavalcade. Along the base of the rising ground which ascended behind the village, and entirely in the rear of the soldiers, was a large number of the inhabitants, among whom there was quite an assemblage of women, who gazed with intense curiosity, through the openings in the line of the military, upon the stranger visitors from another hemisphere.

On the arrival of the Commodore, his suite of officers formed a double line along the landing place, and as he passed up between, they fell into order behind him. The procession was then formed and took up its march toward the house of reception, the route to which was pointed out by Kayama Yezaiman and his interpreter, who preceded the party. The marines led the way, and the sailors following, the Commodore was duly escorted up the beach. The United States flag and the broad pennant were borne by two athletic seamen, who had been selected from the crews of the squadron on account of their stalwart proportions. Two boys, dressed for the ceremony, preceded the Commodore, bearing in an envelope of scarlet cloth the boxes which contained his credentials and the President's letter. These documents, of folio size, were beautifully written on vellum, and not folded, but bound in blue silk velvet. Each seal, attached by cords of interwoven gold and silk with pendant gold tassels, was encased in a circular box six inches in diameter and three in depth, wrought of pure gold. Each of the

and his interpreters acted as masters of ceremony during the occasion. On entering, they took their positions at the upper end of the room, kneeling down beside a large lacquered box of scarlet color, supported by feet, gilt or of brass.

For some time after the Commodore and his suite had taken their seats there was a pause of some minutes, not a word being uttered on either side. Tatznoske, the principal interpreter, was the first to break silence, which he did by asking Mr. Portman, the Dutch interpreter, whether the letters were ready for delivery, and stating that the prince Toda was prepared to receive them, and that the scarlet box at the upper end of the room was prepared as the receptacle for them. The Commodore, upon this being communicated to him, beckoned to the boys who stood in the lower hall to advance, when they immediately obeyed his summons and came forward, bearing the handsome boxes which contained the President's letter and other documents. The two stalwart negroes followed immediately in rear of the boys, and marching up to the scarlet receptacle, received the boxes from the hands of the bearers, opened them, took out the letters and, displaying the writing and seals, laid them upon the lid of the Japanese box—all in perfect silence. The President's letter, the Commodore's letter of credence, and two communications from the Commodore to the Emperor, are here given. A third letter from him has already been presented on a previous page. All these, however, accompanied the letter from the President and were delivered at the same time with it.

MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, THE
EMPEROR OF JAPAN

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND I send you this public letter by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, an officer of the highest rank in the navy of the United States, and commander of the squadron now visiting your imperial majesty's dominions.

I have directed Commodore Perry to assure your imperial majesty that I entertain the kindest feelings toward your majesty's person and government, and that I have no other object in sending him to Japan but to propose to your imperial majesty that the United States and Japan should live in friendship and have commercial intercourse with each other.

The Constitution and laws of the United States forbid all interference with the religious or political concerns of other nations. I have particularly charged Commodore Perry to abstain from every act which could possibly disturb the tranquility of your imperial majesty's dominions.

The United States of America reach from ocean to ocean, and our Territory of Oregon and State of California lie directly opposite to the dominions of your imperial majesty. Our steamships can go from California to Japan in eighteen days.

Our great State of California produces about sixty millions of dollars in gold every year, besides silver, quicksilver, precious stones, and many other valuable articles. Japan is also a rich and fertile country, and produces many very valuable articles. Your imperial majesty's subjects are skilled in many of the arts. I am desirous that our two countries should trade with each other, for the benefit both of Japan and the United States.

We know that the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government do not allow of foreign trade, except with the Chinese and the Dutch, but as the state of the world changes and new governments are formed, it seems to be wise, from time to time, to make new laws. There was a time when the ancient laws of your imperial majesty's government were first made.

About the same time America, which is sometimes called the New World, was first discovered and settled by the Europeans. For a long time there were but a few people, and they were poor. They have now become quite numerous, their commerce is very extensive, and they think that if your imperial majesty were so far to change the ancient laws as to allow a free trade between the two countries it would be extremely beneficial to both.

If your imperial majesty is not satisfied that it would be safe altogether to abrogate the ancient laws which forbid foreign trade, they might be suspended for five or ten years, so as to try the experiment. If it does not prove as beneficial as was hoped, the ancient laws can be restored. The United States often limit their treaties with foreign States to a few years, and then renew them or not, as they please.

I have directed Commodore Perry to mention another thing to your imperial majesty. Many of our ships pass every year from California to China, and great numbers of our people pursue the whale fishery near the shores of Japan. It sometimes happens in stormy weather, that one of our ships is wrecked on your imperial majesty's shores. In all such cases we ask, and expect, that our unfortunate people should be treated with kindness, and that their property should be protected, till we can send a vessel and bring them away. We are very much in earnest in this.

Commodore Perry is also directed by me to represent to your imperial majesty that we understand there is a great abundance of coal and provisions in the Empire of Japan. Our steamships, in crossing the great ocean, burn a great deal of coal, and it is not convenient to bring it all the way from America. We wish that our steamships and other vessels should be allowed to stop in Japan and supply themselves with coal, provisions and water. They will pay for them in money, or anything else your imperial majesty's subjects may prefer, and we request your imperial majesty to appoint a convenient port, in the southern part of the Empire, where our vessels may stop for this purpose. We are very desirous of this.

These are the only objects for which I have sent Commodore Perry, with a powerful squadron, to pay a visit to your imperial majesty's renowned city of Yedo, friendship, commerce, a supply of coal and provisions, and protection for our shipwrecked people.

We have directed Commodore Perry to beg your imperial majesty's acceptance of a few presents. They are of no great value in themselves, but some of them may serve as specimens of the articles manufactured in the United States, and they are intended as tokens of our sincere and respectful friendship.

May the Almighty have your imperial majesty in His great and holy keeping!

In witness whereof, I have caused the great seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, and have subscribed the same with my name, at the city of Washington, in America, the seat of my government, on the thirteenth day of the month of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty two.

[Seal attached]

Your good friend,

MILLARD FILLMORE

By the President

EDWARD EVERETT,
Secretary of State

Commodore Perry to the Emperor

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE *SL-QUEENANNA*,
Off the coast of Japan, July 7, 1853

The undersigned, commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of the United States of America stationed in the East India, China and Japan seas, has been sent by his government to this country, on a friendly mission, with ample powers to negotiate with the government of Japan, touching certain matters which have been fully set forth in the letter of the President of the United States, copies of which, together with copies of the letter of credence of the undersigned, in the English, Dutch, and Chinese languages, are herewith transmitted

The original of the President's letter, and of the letter of credence, prepared in a manner suited to the exalted station of your imperial majesty, will be presented by the undersigned in person, when it may please your majesty to appoint a day for his reception

The undersigned has been commanded to state that the President entertains the most friendly feelings toward Japan, but has been surprised and grieved to learn that when any of the people of the United States go, of their own accord, or are thrown by the perils of the sea, within the dominions of your imperial majesty, they are treated as if they were your worst enemies

The undersigned refers to the cases of the American ships *Morrison*, *Lagoda*, and *Lawrence*

With the Americans, as indeed with all Christian people, it is considered a sacred duty to receive with kindness, and to succor and protect all, of whatever nation, who may be cast upon their shores, and such has been the course of the Americans with respect to all Japanese subjects who have fallen under their protection

The government of the United States desires to obtain from that of Japan some positive assurance that persons who may hereafter be shipwrecked on the coast of Japan, or driven by stress of weather into her ports, shall be treated with humanity

The undersigned is commanded to explain to the Japanese that the United States are connected with no government in Europe, and that their laws do not interfere with the religion of their own citizens, much less with that of other nations

That they inhabit a great country which lies directly between Japan and Europe, and which was discovered by the nations of Europe about the same time that Japan herself was first visited by Europeans, that the portion of the American continent lying nearest to Europe was first settled by emigrants from that part of the world, that its population has rapidly spread throughout the country, until it has reached the shores of the Pacific ocean, that we have now large cities, from which, with the aid of steam vessels, we can reach Japan in eighteen or twenty days, that our commerce with all this region of the globe is rapidly increasing, and the Japan seas will soon be covered with our vessels

Therefore, as the United States and Japan are becoming every day nearer and nearer to each other, the President desires to live in peace and friendship with your imperial majesty, but no friendship can long exist, unless Japan ceases to act toward Americans as if they were her enemies

However wise this policy may originally have been, it is unwise and impracticable now that the intercourse between the two countries is so much more easy and rapid than it formerly was

The undersigned holds out all these arguments in the hope that the Japanese government

will see the necessity of averting unfriendly collision between the two nations, by responding favorably to the propositions of amity, which are now made in all sincerity

Many of the large ships of war destined to visit Japan have not yet arrived in these seas, though they are hourly expected, and the undersigned, as an evidence of his friendly intentions, has brought but four of the smaller ones, designing, should it become necessary, to return to Yedo in the ensuing spring with a much larger force

But it is expected that the government of your imperial majesty will render such return unnecessary, by acceding at once to the very reasonable and pacific overtures contained in the President's letter, and which will be further explained by the undersigned on the first fitting occasion

With the most profound respect for your imperial majesty, and entertaining a sincere hope that you may long live to enjoy health and happiness, the undersigned subscribes himself,

M C PERRY,

*Commander-in-chief of the United States Naval Forces
in the East India, China, and Japan seas **

To HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
the Emperor of Japan

Commodore Perry to the Emperor

"UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE SLOUGHAWA,

Uraga, Yedo Bay July 14, 1853

"It having been represented to the undersigned that the propositions submitted through him to the government of Japan are of so much importance, and involve so many momentous questions, that much time will be required to deliberate and decide upon their several bearings

"The undersigned, in consideration thereof, declares himself willing to await a reply to these propositions until his return to Yedo Bay in the ensuing spring, when he confidently hopes that all matters will be amicably arranged, and to the satisfaction of the two nations

"With profound respect,

"M C PERRY,

"Commander-in-chief of the United States Naval Forces

"in the East India, China, and Japan seas

"To HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,
"the Emperor of Japan "

Letter of credence to Commodore Perry

MILLARD FILLMORE, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE
EMPEROR OF JAPAN

Reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, prudence, and ability of Matthew C Perry, a captain in the navy of the United States, I have invested him with full power, for and in the name of the said United States, to meet and confer with any person or persons furnished with like powers on the part of your imperial majesty, and with him or them to negotiate,

* It should be remarked that the Commodore framed this letter on his letter of instructions from the authorities of the United States

conclude, and sign a convention or conventions, treaty or treaties, of and concerning the friendship, commerce, and navigation of the two countries, and all matters and subjects connected therewith which may be interesting to the two nations, submitting the same to the President of the United States for his final ratification, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed

Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, the thirteenth day of November, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty two, and of the independence of the United States of America the seventy seventh

MILLARD FILLMORE

EDWARD EVERETT

By the President

Secretary of State

[Seal attached]

Accompanying the letters were translations of the same into the Chinese and Dutch languages. After the documents had been laid upon the lid of the imperial box, made as their receptacle, Mr Portman, Dutch interpreter, by the Commodore's direction, indicated to Tatznoske, the Japanese interpreter, the characters of the various documents, upon which Tatznoske and Keyama Yezamen, still kneeling, both bowed their heads. The latter, now rising, approached the Prince of Iwami, and prostrating himself on his knees before him, received from his hands a roll of papers, with which he crossed over to the Commodore, and again falling upon his knees, delivered it to him. The Dutch interpreter now asked "what those papers were?" to which it was answered, "they are the imperial receipt. The translation of it is as follows

[Translation of receipt given by the Princes of Idzu and Iwami to Commodore Perry]

"The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and delivered to the Emperor. Many times it has been communicated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uraga, but in Nagasaki. Now it has been observed that the Admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the President, would be insulted by it, the justice of this has been acknowledged, consequently, the above mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law

"Because the place is not designed to treat of anything from foreigners, so neither can conference nor entertainment take place. The letter being received you will leave here

[Here follow facsimiles of signatures in Japanese]

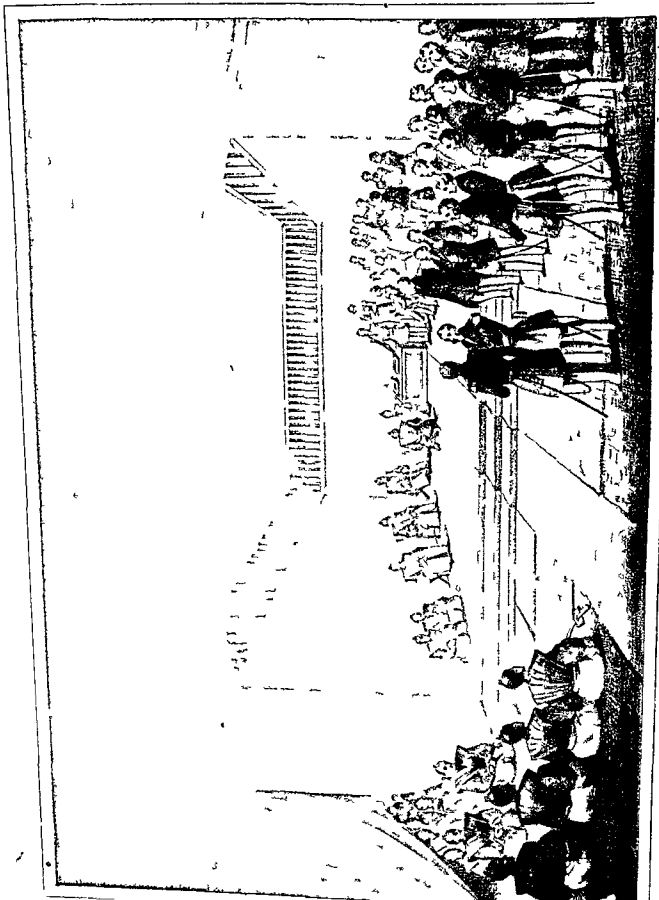
"THE NINTH OF THE SIXTH MONTH

The above is a literal translation from the Dutch, in which language the conferences were held, and into which the receipt of the chief counsellors, the princes of Idzu and Iwami, was, doubtless, badly translated from the Japanese by their interpreter

The following would probably be the correct translation from the Japanese

"The letter of the President of the United States of North America, and copy, are hereby received and will be delivered to the Emperor

"It has been many times intimated that business relating to foreign countries cannot be transacted here in Uraga but at Nagasaki nevertheless as it has been observed that the Admiral, in his quality of ambassador of the President, would feel himself insulted by a refusal to receive the letter at this place the justice of which has been acknowledged, the above mentioned letter is hereby received, in opposition to the Japanese law



"As this is not a place wherein to negotiate with foreigners, so neither can conferences nor entertainment be held. Therefore, as the letter has been received you can depart."

After a silence of some few minutes, the Commodore directed his interpreters to inform the Japanese that he would leave, with the squadron, for Lew Chew and Canton in two or three days, and to offer to the government his services, if it wished to send any dispatches or messages to those places. The Commodore also stated that it was his intention to return to Japan in the approaching spring, perhaps in April or May. Tatznoske then asked the Dutch interpreter to repeat what he had said about the Commodore's leaving and returning, which he did, using the same words as before. Then the question was asked "whether the Commodore would return with all four vessels?" "All of them," answered the Commodore, "and probably more, as these are only a portion of the squadron." Allusion had been made to the revolution in China, and the interpreter asked its cause, without however translating to the Japanese princes, to which the Commodore dictated the reply, that "it was on account of the government."

Yezamen and Tatznoske now bowed, and, rising from their knees, drew the fastenings around the scarlet box, and informing the Commodore's interpreter that there was nothing more to be done, passed out of the apartment, bowing to those on either side as they went. The Commodore now rose to take leave, and, as he departed, the two princes, still preserving absolute silence, also rose and stood until the strangers had passed from their presence.

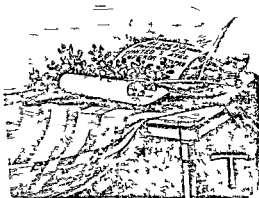
The Commodore and his suite were detained a short time at the entrance of the building waiting for their barge, whereupon Yezamen and his interpreter returned and asked some of the party what they were waiting for, to which they received the reply, "For the Commodore's boat." Nothing further was said. The whole interview had not occupied more than from twenty to thirty minutes, and had been conducted with the greatest formality, though with the most perfect courtesy in every respect.

The procession re-formed as before, and the Commodore was escorted to his barge, and, the embarkation, was rowed off toward his ship, followed by the other American and the two Japanese boats which contained the governor of Uraga and his attendants, the bands meanwhile playing our national airs with great spirit as the boats pulled off to the ships. While there was some little delay in embarking all the party, in consequence of the smallness of the landing place, which was now flanked by some sixty or seventy Japanese government boats, the soldiers took occasion to crowd in from various parts of the shore, either to satisfy their curiosity, or to show a more formidable front, and it must be confessed that, had such been the disposition of the Japanese, there would have been no difficulty, with their large force, in completely hemming in the Americans.



CHAPTER XIV.

CONCESSIONS OF THE JAPANESE —RELAXATION OF THEIR RESTRICTIVE LAWS —SATISFACTION OF BOTH JAPANESE AND AMERICANS AT THE RESULT OF THE VISIT ON SHORE AND DELIVERY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER —VISIT OF KRYAMA YEZAIMEN TO THE SHIPS —IMPULSION OF THE INTERPRETER SABOROSKE —THE SQUADRON GOES FURTHER UP THE BAY TOWARD THE CAPITAL —POLICY OF THIS MOVEMENT —ALARM OF THE JAPANESE GRADUALLY QUIETED —BEAUTIFUL SCENERY UP THE BAY.—SURVEY OF THE BAY CONTINUED —CONVIVIALITY ON BOARD —SURVEYING BOATS ENTER A SMALL RIVER —CORDIAL GREETING OF THE INHABITANTS —CROWD DISPERSED BY A JAPANESE OFFICIAL —COMMODORE TRANSFERS HIS PENNANT FROM THE SUSQUEHANNA TO THE MISSISSIPPI —THE LAST-NAMED VESSEL GOES UP IN SIGHT OF THE SHIPPING PLACE OF YEDO —MINAGAWA —YEDO ABOUT TEN MILES DISTANT FROM THE POINT WHERE THE SHIPS TURNED ABOUT.—GOOD DEPTH OF WATER IN YEDO BAY, PROBABLY ALMOST UP TO THE CITY —THE BAY PRETTY THOROUGHLY EXPLORED AND SOUNDED BY THE SURVEYING PARTIES —INTERCHANGE OF PRESENTS WITH THE JAPANESE OFFICERS —AVOWED SORROW OF JAPANESE OFFICIALS ON BIDDING FAREWELL TO THE AMERICANS —COMMODORE'S REASONS FOR NOT WAITING FOR A REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER —LEAVES YEDO BY DECLARING HIS INTENTION TO RETURN IN THE ENSUING SPRING —THE SARATOGA SENT TO SINGHAI TO LOOK AFTER AMERICAN INTERESTS —THE PLYMOUTH ORDERED TO LEW CHOW —OHIO SINKS.—SHIPS ENCOUNTER A STORM —GENERAL RESULTS OF THE FIRST VISIT OF THE SQUADRON TO THE BAY OF YEDO



THE Commodore had, previous to setting out on the expedition ashore, placed his two steamers in such a position as to command the little bay, and had given orders that the decks should be cleared and everything got ready for action. Howitzers were placed in boats alongside, in readiness to be dispatched at a moment's notice, in case any trouble should occur on land, and the ship's guns were prepared to send their balls and shells in showers upon all the line of Japanese troops which thronged the shore, had they commenced hostilities. There was, however, no serious apprehension felt of any warlike termination to the ceremonies of

the day, although every precaution was properly taken to provide against the least untoward occurrence. When the reception was over, there was a general feeling of satisfaction on the part of every man in the squadron at the successful result. Judged by the ordinary relations of civilized nations, there was not much ground for congratulation, but when considered in reference to the exclusive policy of Japan, there was every reason for a proud self-satisfaction on the part of each American who had shared in the event of the day.

The justice of the Commodore's demand to be received as befitted the envoy of a great nation, was acknowledged in the remarkable document received from the imperial government, and confirmed in the most impressive manner by the proceedings of the day, when two of the chief

Yezamen How many miles can you make in an hour with your steam engine?

Lieut C Eight Japanese or thirteen American miles, with steam only and without wind. In the United States, there are some very light steamers on the river which can go eighteen miles an hour.

Yezamen Where were steamers first invented?

Lieut C In America an American named Fulton first invented them in New York.

Yezamen having been urged to remain and observe the engine in motion, his curiosity prompted him to do so, and his boat and that of *Saboroske* being taken in tow, these two officials and their interpreters, while the anchors were weighing and the steamers were proceeding to their old anchorage, partook freely of the hospitalities of the officers, and busied themselves in gratifying their natural desire of seeing all that was to be seen on board the ship.

These Japanese officials, evincing as they always did a certain reserved curiosity, yet showed an intelligent interest in the structure of the steamer and all that pertained to its appointments. While the engines were in motion they minutely inspected every part, but exhibited no fear, nor any of that startled surprise that would be expected of those who were entirely ignorant of its mechanism. They seemed to acquire rapidly some insight into the nature of steam, and into the mode with which it was applied to put into action the great engine and move by its power the wheels of the steamers. Their questions were of the most intelligent character, and they asked again by whom steamers were first discovered, and to what speed they could be propelled through the water. They examined with marked interest various engravings which were shown them of American river and sea steam vessels, and also some views of New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco, which happened to be on board. *Yezamen* having observed the revolvers in the belts of some of the American officers, expressed a desire to examine the construction and see one let off. His curiosity was accordingly gratified by one of the captains, who fired off a revolver from the quarter deck, and he watched the repeated discharges of the six barrels with very evident astonishment but no alarm.

There was a marked contrast observed between the bearing of the two officials. While *Yezamen* always exhibited a modest reserve of manner, *Saboroske* was bold and pushing. The former evinced an intelligent curiosity, but the latter showed an importunate inquisitiveness, bustling, rude, and intrusive. The latter was continually peering his bold and impudent face into every nook and corner, whether invited or not, and appeared more desirous of acting the spy than of gratifying the interest of a liberal curiosity.

A shrill blast of the steam whistle now announced the arrival of the steamers off *Uraga*, and startled the Japanese to their feet, as the time of their departure had arrived. The engines were stopped for a few minutes while the Japanese boats were brought alongside from the stern, and was brought so soon to a close, and expressed some reluctance at leaving before they had fully gratified their curiosity.

The whole squadron now got in position, the steamers having been joined by the two sloops of war, the *Plymouth* and *Saratoga*, and all four ships presented a formidable array as they stood off in a line abreast of each other and advanced with running lines of action up the bay. The course was now directed toward the eastern shore, leaving on the west the promontory of *Uraga* and a beautiful bay beyond, which disclosed to the view its surrounding hills of the

richest verdure with numerous villages at their base, as the squadron moved along in a diagonal line

As the land on the west was approached to within three miles, it was seen to rise gradually from the undulating slopes, near the waters of the bay, to steep mountains in the distance. Fertile fields, expanding parks, bounded with plantations, and varied here and there with carefully arranged clumps of trees of advanced but vigorous growth, terraces lifting their smooth surfaces one above the other, in the richest and greenest of verdure, and retired groves of deep shade, showed upon the acclivities of the nearer range of hills all the marks of a long and most perfect cultivation, and presented a beauty of landscape unrivalled even by the garden like scenery of England when clothed in the fresh charms of a verdant spring. The distant hills were rugged and bare, and apparently without cultivation but gave by their contrasting barrenness and rudeness of aspect, a heightened beauty to the rich culture of the land which gradually undulated from their base to the waters of the bay. As the squadron advanced toward the north the shore became more level, and a stretch of sand was observed to extend for three or four miles into the bay, and to arise near its termination into two considerable elevations, upon which forts with ten guns each were erected and there the Japanese troops had been seen to gather.

The ships now directed their course toward the proposed place for anchoring, which had been surveyed by Lieutenant Bent on the previous surveying expedition. Keeping in view a bold headland, which bounded the upper part of the bay, to which the squadron was tending, the ships steered toward the western shore, and finally dropped their anchors in the afternoon in a place which the Commodore then named the *American Anchorage*. This was about ten miles distant from the first anchorage off Uraga, and a mile and a half from the shore, in a depth of water which gave full thirteen fathoms. Within the bay in which the ships were anchored were two beautiful islands, covered with a green growth of herbage and scattered groves. The coast which bounded the anchorage was composed of a succession of steep cliffs of white rock, the summits of which were covered with a fertile soil, which produced a rich vegetation that hung over from above in heavy festoons of green shrubbery and trailing vines and plants, while the sea had washed the base of the cliffs here and there into caverns where the water flowed in and out. The headland at the north was about six miles distant and descended in green slopes to the bay and from the thick growth of trees which covered them a white smoke was observed to wind through the close foliage and was supposed to indicate the presence of some encampment. A great number of the usual government boats, distinguished by red banners, lined a long stretch of the shore of nearly a mile in length, and the fortresses had extended their usual cotton cloth battens or screens, which were now, on longer experience, supposed to be rather military emblems, like the flag and banners, than sham exhibitions of force and intended evidences of hostility.

Immediately on anchoring the Commodore ordered the boats out upon a surveying expedition, and although this seemed to bring out the soldiers in numbers about the battery which lay opposite to the ships, as well as some of the government boats which were moored along the shore there was no direct interference with the surveying party. The Japanese boats, however, moved backward and forward, as if watching the movement of the ships' cutters, but seemed indisposed to do more than show themselves in force and on the alert. Soon, however, Yezamen, with his interpreters, were seen to approach the *Sakuchanni*, in their usual boat, which the Japanese oarsmen were sculling with all their might, and at once

dashed up alongside the steamer Yezaimen and his companions hurried up the companion way, and were evidently much ruffled, and in a state of great anxiety. They were at once ushered into the cabin, where they were received as usual by the captains, who were coolly prepared to listen to what they had to say. Titznoske at once burst out with the question, "Why do your ships anchor here?" He was answered that as they had been already informed by the Commodore, the ships had advanced up the bay in order to obtain a more secure anchorage. The interpreter then stated that that part of the Japanese waters had always been hitherto respected by strangers, and that the squadron must not go any further. He then asked whether the Commodore intended to go beyond, and if not, how long he intended to remain where he then was? He was told that the Commodore intended to remain three or four days longer for the purpose of finding out a good anchorage, as he was to return in the ensuing spring with many more ships and men, and that it was desirable that the most secure place should be found for mooring his vessels, and that for this purpose it was necessary to survey the bay. Uraga had been tried, but it was found insecure, as the water was rough, and the winds occasionally blew there with great force. Upon the interpreter Titznoske asserting that the Commodore had promised to leave the bay immediately on the reception of the President's letter by the princes, he was reminded that the Commodore had only promised to leave the shore, but had distinctly stated that it was his intention to advance further up the bay with his ships. The interpreter continued by declaring that if the surveying boats should approach any nearer to the land that there would be trouble, as the people were already under considerable excitement from observing the close neighborhood of the strangers. He was then told that there was no need for any anxiety, as the boats should not land, and the Americans would not interfere with the Japanese unless they were first disturbed by them. Yezaimen still persisted through his interpreters upon the squadron leaving, and courteously expressed his assurance that the Japanese government was favorably disposed toward the Americans, and that as the President's letter had been received it would undoubtedly be considered with a favorable disposition. He concluded by expressing the hope that on the next visit of the Commodore he would not advance any further up the bay than Uraga, as that place offered every convenience for the proposed negotiation. Yezaimen was now assured that the Americans came as friends, and that therefore it was quite unreasonable that any opposition should be made to their ships seeking a suitable anchorage. They were moreover told that it was the custom in the United States to afford every facility to foreigners in that respect, and that if the Japanese came to the United States they would find the navigable waters of the country free to them, and that they would not be debarred even from the rich gold fields of California.

Yezaimen had nothing more to say, and, whether persuaded or not, had the courtesy to refrain from pushing his demands any further. He and his companions, upon being invited to partake of some refreshments, readily complied, and were soon engaged in discussing with a vigorous appetite the collation that was spread before them. Another government boat was at this juncture announced as being alongside, when immediately the Japanese officials who were on board of it were invited to share in the hospitalities of the cabin. Quite a convivial scene ensued, in the course of which abundant supplies of ham, ship's biscuit, and other stores, washed down by plentiful draughts of whiskey, quickly disappeared. The cheer seemed to be much relished, and the interpreters were so exceedingly delighted that they desired to bear away some substantial mementos of the pleasant feast, and, accordingly, not satisfied with well-

filled paunches, they carried off in their capacious sleeves pieces of the bread and ham, wherewith to refresh their memories and their future appetites. As the night approached, the Japanese took their departure, full of courteous expressions of satisfaction at the hospitality of the ships.

The following morning (July 15th) a surveying party was again, at a very early hour, dispatched by the Commodore to sound further up the bay. Three of the boats pulled round to the other side of the battery which shut out a part of the country inland from the view of those on board ship. Here they found an inlet and a beautiful surrounding country watered by a stream, upon the fertile borders of which were grouped a great number of picturesque Japanese villages, while fertile fields and highly cultivated gardens stretched out beyond them. The officers ordered their boats up the river and were met as they advanced by crowds of the inhabitants, gathering upon the shores to satisfy their curiosity in a look at the strangers. Some of the people greeted the boats with every indication of welcome, and readily supplied those on board with water and some excellent peaches. There were a few government boats lying near, and the officers on board gladly welcomed our people to a visit, in the course of which such a mutual friendship sprang up that the Americans joined the Japanese in a social pipe or two of tobacco. Our officers, in return for their hospitable entertainment, amused their newly found hosts with an exhibition of their revolvers and fired them off to the intense surprise and delight of the Japanese. In the midst of this enjoyment of social intercourse, where the greatest harmony prevailed, and in which the Japanese seemed remarkably genial in manner and expansive in hospitality, down came some severe official and beckoned off his countrymen, who rapidly scattered away, like so many children caught in the very act of some awful disobedience.

On the return of the ships' boats from sounding, all the officers and men were in raptures with the kindly disposition of the Japanese and the beauty of their country. In fact nothing could be more picturesque than the landscapes wherever the eye was directed, and even those on board ship never tired of looking at the surrounding shores. The high cultivation of the land everywhere, the deep, rich green of all the vegetation, the numerous thrifty villages embowered in groves of trees at the heads of the inlets which broke the uniformity of the bay, and the rivulets flowing down the green slopes of the hills and calmly winding through the meadows, combined to present a scene of beauty, abundance, and happiness, which every one delighted to contemplate.

In the course of the afternoon the Commodore transferred his pennant from the *Susquehanna* to the *Mississippi*. He then proceeded some ten miles further up the bay toward Yedo, and reached a point estimated to be distant twenty miles from the anchorage at Uraga. The port or shipping place of Yedo was distinctly seen on the southern side of the bay, but not the capital itself, which being composed of low houses, like those of China, was completely hidden behind a projecting point, beyond which the bay took an easterly direction, and was bounded by a shore of low alluvial land. The town described was probably Kanagawa, a suburb of Yedo. On the western side of the bay a view was obtained of Kanagawa and Hazaki, two populous places. Some four miles beyond the extreme point reached by the *Mississippi* there was a cape formed by a projecting point of land and marked by a white tower, which resembled in appearance a light house. It was some three or four miles still further when the shipping and a large part of Yedo appeared to the view. The Commodore thus supposed that he had taken his ship within ten miles of Yedo, and as the lead gave twenty fathoms where he put ashore the

concluded that he could readily have gone still higher up. He was apprehensive, however, of causing too much alarm, and thus throwing some obstacle in the way of a favorable reception at court of the President's letter, that had only been delivered the day before, and which was probably then under consideration. The Commodore thus thinking that he had done enough, without going further, caused the ship to rejoin the squadron at the "American Anchorage."

During the passage of the Mississippi, there was no show of opposition to her movements, although there was a considerable display of troops about the batteries, loosely grouped, as if gathered for curiosity and not for martial manifestation, and an occasional government boat put out from the shore with the apparent design of watching the steamer. While the Commodore was absent on his expedition up the bay, Yezumen and his interpreters came alongside the *Susquehanna*, bringing some boxes containing presents, but neither they nor their presents were received, as the Commodore had given orders that no one from the shore should be admitted on board the ship without his special permission. Upon being told this, the Japanese first expressed a wish to wait, but finally pushed off, saying that they would return another time. All the boats which could be spared from the several ships, amounting to twelve, were busily engaged during the whole day in surveying the western shore of the bay above Uraga.

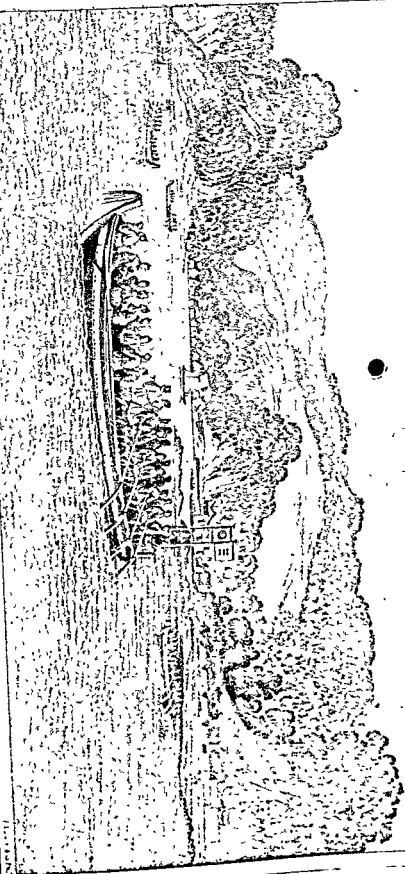
At daylight next morning (Saturday, 16th July,) the ships were moved to a bay about five miles from Uraga, which the Commodore named "*Susquehanna Bay*," and in the survey of which the boats were kept diligently occupied, and without interference or, in fact, any expressed objection. The squadron was now anchored much closer to the shore than before, at a distance of less than a mile, and from the ship's deck a distant view was had of the land on the west, which was singularly green with vegetation and beautiful in aspect. The present anchorage was completely land locked. On one side was the charming little island named "*Perry Island*," by Lieutenant Bent, who was in command of the surveying party which first examined its neighboring waters. Out of the trees which grew to the summit of the rising land peered, with a suspicious look, a Japanese battery. Below, some miles to the south, the promontory which extends out into the bay beyond Uraga closed in the ships which were moored so far under the cover of its lofty flank, that the view of the eastern shore for a considerable extent was entirely blotted out. Two villages, of the name of *Orsa* and *Egirasaki*, nestled among the trees within the curve of the bay, and presented to the eye a charming aspect of repose and rural delight.

Yezumen, the governor of Uraga, was again alongside the *Susquehanna* before she had anchored. He came to renew his assurance of the favorable reception of the President's letter, and as nothing was said now of sending the answer to Nagasaki, it seemed that the nearer the Commodore approached the imperial city of the Japanese the more conciliating and friendly they became. The governor had brought with him some presents, consisting of some pieces of silk, some fans, lacquered tea-cups and tobacco pipes. These objects were interesting as specimens of Japanese manufacture, and though not very valuable, were creditable evidences of mechanical skill. The cups were made of a very light wood, neatly executed and beautifully polished in surface with the famous Japanese lacquer. The silks were of fine texture, richly interwoven with trails of gold and silver, elaborately wrought into various ornamental figures. The fans were covered with these "dragons and chimeras" dire in which the grotesque fancy of Japanese art seems especially to delight, and the pipes were small and like what had been previously observed in use among the few Chinese.

TO RI-GA-SA-KI, YEDO BAY

W. B. S. S.

J. 1860



Yezaimen was informed, by the orders of the Commodore, that the presents which he had brought could not be received unless others from the Commodore were accepted in return. To this Yezaimen at first demurred by interposing the invariable plea that the Japanese law forbade it. He was now answered that American laws enjoined a reciprocity and that his presents could not be otherwise received. Finding the Commodore resolute upon this, as upon all other points of ceremony, Yezaimen consented at last to receive in return whatever, with the exception of arms, there was a disposition to give him. Accordingly, some few articles of more value than those brought by the Japanese were sent on deck, but when Yezaimen saw them he declared that they were of too much value, and that he dared not take on shore anything but what he and his interpreter could conceal about their persons. He was then informed that if he could not receive the articles openly, and without concealment, that those which he had brought with him would be put back into his boat. He then departed, carrying with him all the Commodore's presents, with the exception of three swords, which he was permitted to leave.

In the afternoon, Yezaimen and his interpreters came on board again, with a trifling present of some fowls in wicker cages and several boxes of eggs. They seemed in very good humor, as there had been no objection urged on shore to their retaining the presents they had received from the Commodore in the morning. The Commodore, upon receiving the fowls and eggs, sent presents to the wives of the Japanese officials, as he was determined to be under no obligation to them. Another important point had been gained in persuading the Japanese to consent to an exchange of presents, a concession which had hitherto been unprecedented in all their previous relations with foreign nations.

Among the articles given to Yezaimen was a large box containing a variety of American seeds and some, if not equally useful, not less acceptable, cases of wine. The Governor had showed his appreciation of the latter article by the gusto with which he shared in the conviviality on board which marked his last visit. Yezaimen and his interpreters, Tatsu and Toksaro, evidently lingered with pleasure on board the ship and were loth to say the final good bye. Over the board which was spread to refresh and to do honor to them they became remarkably jovial and communicative. Yezaimen's disposition was naturally genial, and it became still more expansive in its bonhomie under the by no means restricted draughts of champagne. His affection towards his American friends was liberally acknowledged, and he confessed such a yearning for them that he declared he would not be able to restrain his tears on their departure. The interpreters, though less bibulous and more reserved than their superior, were evidently in a very joyous mood and seemed to be confidential. Tatznoske, with a knowing look, hinted in a low, whispering tone of voice, that the President's letter had a very fair chance of a satisfactory answer, and that Yezaimen had a good prospect of promotion from the governorship of Uraga to some higher grade of official distinction.

The Japanese, however, were always on the alert to gain a point in diplomacy, and despite their convivial freedom did not forget their official duties. Captain Buchanan had informed Tatznoske of the intention of the Commodore to leave Yedo Bay next day, whereupon that shrewd gentleman put down his glass of champagne, and showing his usual eager attention to business even in the midst of pleasure, asked the captain for a declaration in writing of what he had said in words about the equalness of departure. This was refused with an expression of cold reserve on the part of Captain Buchanan, as it would seem to imply a doubt of his word.

The Japanese officials now prepared to depart, and finally, after expressing in the most courteous terms their thanks for the treatment they had received, and their regret on leaving their American friends, shook all the officers warmly by the hand, and went bowing and smiling over the side of the ship into their boat. No sooner were they seated on their mats, than Yezamen showed his appreciation of the present of wine by ordering one of the cases to be immediately opened, and taking the first bottle that came, impatiently knocked off its neck, and without more ado commenced imbibing its contents, probably desiring, with his usual courtesy, to drink a parting health to his American friends. His boat soon pulled out of sight behind the projecting promontory of Uraga, and nothing more was seen of the courteous Yezamen and his worthy and learned associates Tatznoske and Tol saro.

The survey of the west side of the magnificent bay having been completed from Uraga to a point about fourteen miles below Yedo, and the steamer *Mississippi* having ascended with the boats and sounded six miles nearer to that capital, the Commodore believed that a sufficient knowledge was obtained of the navigation of the bay to conduct the man-of-war, the *Vermont*, which was to join his squadron on his next visit, to the American anchorage, or even higher if necessary.

The governor of Uraga, as will have been observed, had evinced a great anxiety, during the several conferences on board the *Susichanna*, to learn how long the Commodore intended to remain on the coast. On these occasions Yezamen always took care to remark that it was the custom of the Japanese government to be very slow in deciding upon matters having reference to foreign countries. In consequence of these representations, and knowing that the propositions contained in the President's letter were of such importance as to require time for deliberation, overturning, as they would, if acceded to, many of the fundamental laws of the Empire, the Commodore deemed it advisable not to wait for a reply. To these were added other reasons of importance. The Commodore had not provisions or water sufficient to allow of his remaining on the coast more than a month longer, and he well knew that the Japanese authorities could easily, and with every apparent show of reason, defer any satisfactory reply to a period beyond the time when it would be absolutely necessary for him to leave. They would be prepared, as an excuse for delay, to allege the necessity of calling together and conferring with the princes of the Empire, as also of consulting the Dairi or Ecclesiastical Emperor, and thus the Commodore might be put off from day to day, and ultimately be obliged to sail without any satisfaction whatever. Such a result would have been construed into a triumph by the Japanese, and would have caused, as the Commodore believed, serious injury to the success of his mission.

The Commodore, moreover, was glad to have a good excuse for waiting until the ensuing spring for the final answer from the Japanese government, because he knew that some of his ships were required to protect American interests on the coast of China, then somewhat endangered in consequence of the disturbed state of that country. He could not spare any of his squadron while he remained in Japan, for the vessels promised by the Navy Department had not yet followed him as he had expected. He was also unprepared to respond with becoming courtesy to any concession or act of friendliness on the part of the Japanese government, in consequence of not having received the presents from the United States that were expected in the *Vermont*, and which it was essential to have ready upon the reception of a favorable answer to the President's letter.

may be also forced into some service by the Japanese people, who seem ever on the alert to make any available use of their territory

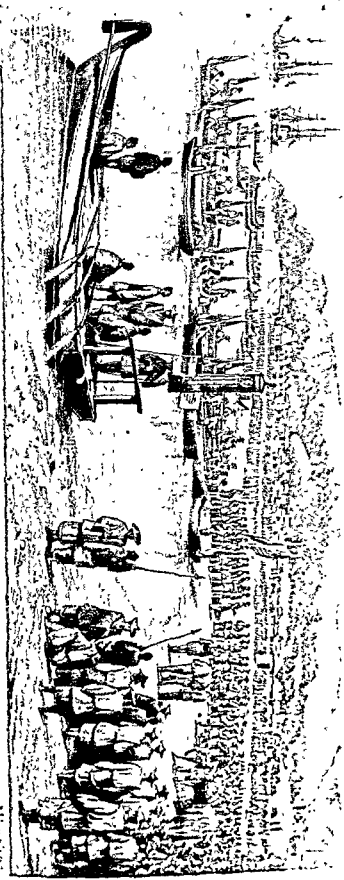
On the next day, after the departure of the squadron from Yedo bay, the wind, which had been steadily blowing from east to ESE, began to increase with such force as made it necessary to cast off the two sloops of war, the commanders of which, having been ordered by signal to proceed to the duty previously assigned them, then parted company. Commander Waller, in the *Saratoga*, had received written instructions from the Commodore to make the best of his way to Shanghai to protect American life and property and to look after the general interests of the United States in that vicinity. Commander Kelly, in the *Plymouth*, was instructed to proceed to Lew Chew, and on his way to examine the western shores of Oho-Sima. It was the intention of the Commodore to have surveyed the eastern shores of this island, but he was prevented by the weather.

After the *Plymouth* and *Saratoga* had been cast off, the wind gradually increased to a strong gale. The two steamers were now hove to on the port tack. The wind being at east by south, beating up an ugly sea, the *Susquehanna* rolled very deeply, but otherwise made tolerable weather. The *Mississippi* apparently was doing better, but nevertheless lost two of her boats during the gale. The storm did not begin to abate until the third day, when the Commodore continued his course, without delay, for Napha. During the passage to and from Yedo bay, the current set invariably with more or less strength, according to the wind, to the north and east, while in the bay of Yedo itself, the tides were regular and set up and down the channel opposite Uraga at the rate of two and a half knots.

At the close of a chapter which completes the account of the first visit of Commodore Perry to Japan, it seems appropriate to sum up briefly the results of that visit. Short as was the stay of the squadron in the waters of the bay of Yedo, the ships having first anchored on the eighth of July and taken their departure on the seventeenth of the same month, no unimportant results had been effected. These, to be fully appreciated, must be considered not absolutely in regard to their own intrinsic value, but relatively to the former policy of Japan, in its restricted intercourse with foreign nations.

During the eight days, which was the full extent of his first visit, Commodore Perry had gained in behalf of his country several advantages hitherto denied to all other nations. It is true certain concessions had been made, but in a very limited degree, to the Dutch and Chinese, and these, small as they were, were awarded to them at the expense, on their part, of the most degrading conditions. The first point conceded was the release of the American squadron from the perpetual presence of the Japanese guard boats, which had always hitherto surrounded foreign ships, and placed them, as it were, under arrest during their visit. A resolute resistance was it once opposed by Commodore Perry to this degrading imposition of force by a judicial visit, and, in spite of all the Japanese authorities could urge on the score of their own exclusive laws and unobjectionable practice, a new precedent was established in conformity with the civility of civilized nations.

The second point gained was the accomplishment of the Commodore's predetermine intention to confer with no one but a dignitary of the highest rank in the Empire, and to claim a recognition in every respect honorable to himself and the country which he represented. This was effected with all the slightest levitation on the part of the Commodore from those simple rules of diplomatic courtesy recommended by our institutions. For example, during the reception on the whole Government of Uraga presented himself on every occasion when he addressed the



Prince of Idzu and his associate, the Prince of Iwami, the Commodore and his staff remained quietly seated, and used no more ceremony toward the Japanese princes than would have been proper in a similar conference with the commissioners of any country duly credited

The survey of the bay of Yedo, in spite of the protests of the authorities, and under the very guns of their batteries, was an important advantage. It not only taught the Japanese the folly of attempting to frighten away the Americans by bravado and sham exhibitions of force, but has proved to the world, for the first time, the practicability of sailing even to the capital of Japan, and secured every facility for approaching it in the charts which have been the results of the observations of the hydrographical department of the expedition

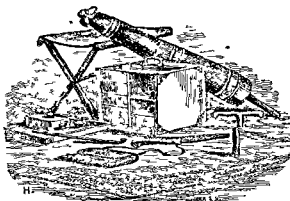
The Commodore, conscious that he was dealing with a ceremonious people, never lost an opportunity of symbolising, even by form and etiquette, his resolute determination to uphold the dignity of his mission. Thus, in the matter of giving and receiving presents, it was taken care that the invariable eastern custom should be strictly followed, and that the advantage, on the score of the value of gifts, should never be on the side of the Japanese. Heretofore it had been the policy of China and Japan to consider and receive all presents as so many tributes to their superior power. In the equal exchange carefully regarded by the Commodore he determined that presents should be considered merely as a mutual interchange of friendly courtesy, and he accordingly never received anything without returning at least its equivalent

While the Commodore strove to impress the Japanese with a just idea of the power and superiority of his country, he was ever studious of exhibiting the most friendly disposition in all his relations with the authorities of Japan, that they might understand that it was the desire of the United States to cultivate a kindly intercourse. Thus, on the one hand, a resolute determination was shown to demand a respectful hearing, and to secure at all hazards a protection for American citizens who might be at the mercy of Japan, and on the other, a courteous desire was expressed of cultivating a mutual trade and commerce, by which international good feeling and reciprocal interests are most securely created and safely guaranteed. The Japanese were reminded how closely the geographical position of their Empire had been brought to the United States by the new possessions on the Pacific, and the development of the mighty power of steam, the effective operation of which had been so strikingly revealed to the people of Japan by the appearance of the American naval steamers almost within gun shot of their capital. How far this policy, which proved the power to compel, while it exhibited the disposition to conciliate, was successful, will be developed in the future pages of the narrative.



CHAPTER XV.

AMAKIRIMA ISLANDS—STATE OF FEELING IN LEW CHEW—COMMODORE'S MEASURES FOR PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE AUTHORITIES—COAL DEPOT—PROTEST AGAINST ESPIONAGE—TRADE IN OPEN MARKET—LETTER TO THE REGENT—INTERVIEW WITH THE REGENT—ENTERTAINMENTS OF THE COMMODORE—DURING DINNER THE REGENT'S ANSWER IS BROUGHT—UNSATISFACTORY TO THE COMMODORE—LETTER HANDED BACK TO THE REGENT, AND THE COMMODORE PREPARES TO LEAVE THE HOLSE—INFORMS THE REGENT THAT HE MUST HAVE A SATISFACTORY ANSWER ON THE NEXT DAY, OTHERWISE HE WILL LAND AND TAKE POSSESSION OF THE PALACE AT SHUI AND RETAIN IT UNTIL MATTERS ARE ADJUSTED—PROBABLE EFFECTS OF HUNTING UP THE OLD SEDAN CHAIR ON SHORE—COMMODORE'S PROPOSITIONS ALL ACCEPTED—COAL DEPOT BUILT—VISIT TO THE CASTLE OF TIMA GUSKO—PURCHASES IN THE BAZAAR—DEPARTURE FROM NAPHU FOR CHINA—PLYMOUTH LEFT BEHIND WITH ORDERS TO VISIT BONIN ISLANDS AND MAKE FURTHER SURVEYS—CAPTAIN KELLY'S REPORT OF THE VISIT AND SURVEYS—FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE SETTLERS ON PEARL ISLAND—GENERAL EFFECT OF THIS LAST VISIT TO LEW CHEW—ARRIVAL OF THE VANDALIA OF THE POWHATAN—OVERHAULING OF THE VESSELS OF THE SQUADRON AT HONG KONG



visable for the ships to stand off, which they did, and were carried very much to the southward and westward by the current. This current, according to the generally received accounts, should have been setting in a contrary direction, and consequently the allowance for a north-east set was wrongly made.

The atmosphere continued hazy throughout the night, and as the day dawned the land was still concealed from view, and it was some hours before the position of the steamers could be determined by the sight at last of the Amakirima Islands. At some distance from the islands a patch of breakers was observed, which was duly noted in the chart. The discovery of these breakers and other dangers among the Amakirima group show the necessity of a thorough

the storm which began to blow soon after the departure from the bay of Yedo continued for three days, and the two steamers rolled heavily and were much tossed by its violence, making it necessary to send down the topmasts and secure the great guns by strong lashings, they, however, rode out the storm in safety, and finally arrived at Naphu on the 25th of July. On the approach to the coast of Lew Chew the weather was so hazy that the land could not be discerned at any distance, and, night coming on, it was thought ad-

"Thank the mayor for the kind act of the authorities in putting a tombstone over the remains of the boy buried from the Susquehanna, and ask the privilege of paying the cost of the same."

"Require prompt and early replies to all these propositions and demands."

The Commodore, in addition to these instructions by which Commander Adams was to be governed in his interview, sent a formal communication to the regent, in these words

"To his Excellency the Tsung li kwan of the Kingdom of Lew Chew

"SIR The commander in chief of the United States naval forces in the East India, China, and Japan seas, having returned to this port from Japan, is about sailing for China, and before leaving is desirous of communicating to his excellency the Tsung li kwan a few observations, having reference to the intercourse of persons under his command with the authorities and people of Lew Chew

"The commander in-chief, while he thanks the officers of the Lew Chewan government for the services which they have already rendered in furnishing a few supplies to the ships of the squadron, cannot see the necessity of enforcing against strangers a system of restriction which is altogether at variance with the customs and practices of all civilized nations, and which cannot at the present day be recognized as just or proper

"The commander in-chief is especially desirous of remaining on the most friendly terms with the government of Lew Chew, and of contributing all in his power to the prosperity and happiness of the people, and he claims that the officers and men under his command shall be received on the same footing as those who arrive from China and Japan, that they shall have the privilege of purchasing in the market and shops whatever they may need, and for which they will pay the prices demanded by the sellers, that the inhabitants, particularly the women and children, shall not fly from us as if we were their greatest enemies, and, finally, that our officers and men shall not be watched and followed by low officials and spies. He declares that if this system of espionage is persisted in, he will on his return to Lew Chew take the necessary steps to stop it

"It is repugnant to the American character to submit to such a course of inhospitable discourtesy, and though the citizens of the United States, when abroad, are always regardful of, and obedient to, the laws of the countries in which they may happen to be, provided they are founded upon international courtesy, yet they never can admit of the propriety or justice of those of Lew Chew, which bear so injuriously upon the rights and comforts of strangers resorting to the island with the most friendly and peaceful intentions

"With the highest consideration,

"M. C. PERRY,

"Commander in Chief of the United States Naval Forces,

"in the East India, China, and Japan Seas"

Upon Commander Adams laying the propositions of the Commodore before the mayor of Nagha, he was told by that official that he could do nothing of his own accord, and was obliged to refer all the demands of the Americans to the Tsung li kwan, or regent of Lew Chew, as his own powers were entirely subordinate to those of that high dignitary. Captain Adams then told the mayor that he must inform the regent that the Commodore desired to have an interview with him either the next day or the day after, at any hour or place he, the regent, might appoint, and, moreover, that his excellency must come prepared to answer any ques-

cally and without discussion, the propositions just presented. To this the mayor replied that the regent would be immediately notified, and that the Commodore should be informed as to the time and place of meeting.

Next morning, Lieutenant Contee, the Commodore's aid, was sent ashore to call upon the mayor of Napha, from whom he learned that the regent had appointed the ensuing day, (Friday, July 28,) and the Kung-qua at Napha, as the time and place for the interview.

Accordingly, on Friday the interview came off, and its details are minutely given in the following report, prepared by a subordinate officer appointed for that special service.

"By previous arrangement, two o'clock, p. m., had been fixed upon as the hour for the interview, and the regent had sent word that he would leave Shui at noon. About half past one, however, a boat came off to the *Susquehanna* with the *Pe-ching*, Chang yuen, on board, to inform the Commodore that everything was in readiness for his reception, and the regent already in waiting. The place selected for the purpose was the Kung-qua of Napha, which is used on all official occasions. The Commodore went ashore at two o'clock, accompanied by Captain Adams, captain of the fleet, Lieutenant Contee, flag lieutenant, Captain Lee, of the *Mississippi*, Captain Kelly, of the *Plymouth*, and twelve other officers, making a staff of sixteen persons.

"On landing he was received by a deputation of officers, headed by the *Pe-ching*, and conducted to the place of reception, which is situated on the main street or road leading from Napha to Shui, and about a quarter of a mile from the beach. It is a small but neat building, surrounded by a high wall, which screens it from all observation from without. The mayor of Napha, with some of his attendant officers, stood at the entrance, and the regent advanced to the door of the enclosure to receive the Commodore. Within the building, tables were already prepared for a collation, similar to that given at Shui by the former regent, though not so extensive a scale. The feast was arranged in precisely the same manner, the Commodore and Captain Adams occupying the first table on the right hand, while the regent and mayor took that on the left, opposite to him. After tea had been brought, the regent made a complimentary remark to the Commodore, hoping that he had returned in good health. Ichirazichi acted as interpreter, and the conversation was carried on by Mr. Williams, through the medium of the Chinese language.

"The Commodore stated that he would leave in a few days for China, but should return again to Iow Chew in a few months. Before he left, however, he wished to have a settlement of all these matters concerning which he had addressed them. His demands were reasonable and proper, and he expected that they would be complied with. The Americans were persons of few words, but they always meant what they said. The regent answered that his reply would soon be ready, and invited the Commodore, in the meanwhile, to partake of some refreshments. He was answered that we preferred business first and the refreshments afterwards. The requests made were fair and simple, and the Commodore was dissatisfied with any delay in granting them. We had been to Japan where we had been received in a very friendly manner. We had exchanged presents with Japanese merchants and were on friendly terms with the Japanese. We had, now, to be on friendly terms also with the Iow Chewans. Mr. Williams then, at the Commodore's request, gave a brief narrative of his reception by the regent of Izu and Iwami, and of our exploration and survey of the bay of Yedo. The regent, in return, that his reply would be very soon delivered.

purpose of giving such an answer, which he accordingly did at once, yet while yielding each point, he still pertinaciously insinuated all sorts of trivial objections to the Commodore's plans. He said that the coal would not be safe on shore, as the natives would probably steal it, in answer to which he was told that the government of Lew Chew would be held responsible for every lump of it. The mayor was then ready with another objection, stating that typhoons blew very severely on the island, and would no doubt sweep away the coal depot, and thus, to the very last, while forced to grant all that was asked, the authorities still clung to their prevaricating policy, as if deceit was so much a part of their nature that they practiced it for its own sake alone.

During the few days in which the steamers remained at Napha a party of the officers and artists of the expedition, at the suggestion of Commodore Perry, availed themselves of the occasion to visit the ruins of the castle of Tima-gusko. The Commodore had requested them to take their supplies with them, that they might be entirely independent of the natives for the satisfaction of their wants. They accordingly set out well provided with a supply of ship biscuit, and some American *saki*, which Japanese word was now pretty generally accepted as the generic term for all that was intoxicating and potable. Trusting to the general direction that the castle was situated at the southern end of the island, and constantly repeating with an interrogatory tone, whenever they met a native, the word "*Tima-gusko?*" the party proceeded on their way. Passing from the little village, on the southern side of Junk river, they got upon a narrow paved road leading eastward along its banks. By the way they reached a large village, where they were hospitably entertained at tea, in a handsome *Kung-qua*, embowered in fruit bearing lime trees, and succeeded in making friends with the Lew Chewan host, and a party of his neighbors, who just dropped in to get a glance at the strangers, and to share in their supplies of ship biscuit and foreign *saki*, which were liberally dispensed by the American officers, and highly relished, as usual, by the Lew Chewans.

Tima-gusko? Tima-gusko? which was about the extent of the limited vocabulary of the Americans, seemed quite intelligible, and the interrogatory repetition of the word was responded to by an offer on the part of the Lew Chewan tea party to act as guides. They were, undoubtedly, some of the spies who swarmed everywhere, but it was thought advisable, as it seemed quite impracticable to get rid of them, to turn these fellows to some good purpose, and their services as guides were accordingly accepted. In spite, however, of their assistance, it was a long time before the right road was discovered, and then only after a very tedious tramp through rice fields flooded with water, and the climbing of a steep hill, from which a beautiful view, however, of the palace of *Shu-an* and its groves, and Napha with its white tombs and red tiled houses, and its inner and outer bays, and of the whole amphitheatre of the verdant hills of the island, proved some compensation for the labor lost.

The true road was only reached at last by turning back, in accordance with the direction of the Lew Chewan guides, or rather spies, in whom it would have been better to have trusted from the first. But these timid hearted natives had become so impressed with the obstinacy of the self-willed Yankees, and their resolute determination to have their own way, wherever it might lead, that they seemed half afraid of urging the right, when they knew the Americans were pursuing the wrong. It was thus, from the apparent distrust in their own knowledge on the part of the Lew Chewans, that the party in the ship had followed their own bent, but finding at last that it was wrong, they trusted to the leadership of their guides.



On returning through the rice fields towards the bridge of *Ishirashi*, as the natives called it, and which was supposed to be the same as that of *Madaw-dauki*, as it had been termed by Dr. Buttcham, the Lew Chewans pointed up to some ruined walls which stood upon the brink of a lofty and precipitous hill, which overlooked the town of Napha, and a large circuit of the country and the surrounding waters.

The report, as drawn up by one of the party and laid before the Commodore, describes Tima-gusko as distant four miles in a southeast direction from Napha, and as being on a large scale, covering about eight acres, but in a state of utter ruin. It seemed to have no regular plan, and the walls had been erected upon various projecting points of the rock and often parallel to each other in several lines, for the purpose of strengthening the defences. The neck of the headland between the hills behind had been separated by a moat, which was, however, hardly perceptible from the profuse growth of vegetation, which filled it up and concealed it from the eye. On a lofty eminence of the headland there was an oblong space shut in with walls, and thickly crowded with a dense thicket of trees and undergrowth. This part of the fortress was in a better state of preservation than the rest, and the original height of the wall, which reached about twelve feet, was discernable. On the western side there was a massive arched gateway, with a wooden door, closed by what appeared to be a Chinese lock. As a large tree, growing on the summit of the arch, had sent down its twisted roots among the stones which formed the sides of the entrance, a natural ladder was thus formed, by which the party succeeded in climbing over into the enclosed space. Following a narrow pathway through the otherwise impenetrable thicket, a heap of ruins was reached, upon the summit of which were two stones marked with Chinese characters, and the remains of some *joss* sticks. From these it was concluded that the present inhabitants of Lew Chew still retain some forms of this worship. Tima-gusko is undoubtedly the remains of the southern one of the three castles which were the strongholds of the three several kings who at one time divided the dominion of Lew Chew. The traditional account of the former dynasties, as given by Klaproth in his translation of the "*Kan-to-setsi*," seems remarkably confirmed by the observations of our officers at Lew Chew. The two castles of the north and the south were found in ruins, while the central one of Shui, now the habitation of the present supposed young king, was seen to be in a perfect state of preservation, and indicated that the dynasty of Lew Chew had been finally concentrated in a single ruler.

In accordance with the arrangements between the Commodore and the authorities of Napha, the bazaar was opened at six o'clock on the morning of the afternoon departure, (Monday, August 1). The *Kur-yi-ut*, the place selected for the mart, was found duly prepared with heaps of Lew Chewan productions, a motley assortment of bequipped cups, plates and boxes, pieces of grass-cloth, and the various articles of Lew Chew currency, such as cotton and silk, earthen sandals of straw, and hair pins of brass and silver, thus showing how boxes, which correspond somewhat with our sandwich cases, smoking pipes and plentiful supply of tobacco. The interpreter, *Ishirashi*, was the presiding genius, or, rather, the *cash* Mercury of the market, who went busily about performing his functions as general broker, accompanied by a group of subordinate officials. The various parties from the shops soon arrived in a brisk business and succeeded in spending, in the aggregate about a hundred dollars. As the day wore on, it was found, in accordance with the usual law of trade, that the prices of the articles as the Lew Chew merchants were not lowered in all instances, in the course of the day, as they can buy. The prices were not very heavy at first, but in the afternoon, in the course of the day,

began to improve in this particular, and it was found that some from the ships had paid at least double the sum paid by others for a similar article. The objects obtained were of not much importance, but the chief interest of the occasion arose from the fact that this dealing with foreigners was the first authorized, and was in direct opposition to a fundamental law of the island, the abrogation of which cannot but result in the greatest advantage to the people of Lew Chew. The signal of departure being hoisted, the party of purchasers returned to their respective ships, and at 8 o'clock in the morning (August 1) the Commodore started for Hong Kong.

So prompt had been the effect of the Commodore's resolute demands upon the authorities of Lew Chew, that on the day of sailing, the building for the storage of coal, commenced only two days previous, had been framed and reared, and it was learned afterward that it was entirely finished in two days more. The building is 50 by 60 feet in dimensions, with a water tight thatched roof, with the eaves projecting beyond the sides, which are boarded up more than half the distance from the ground to the roof, leaving an open space sufficient for purposes of ventilation. It was originally of sufficient capacity to hold 500 tons of coal, and the first cargo placed in it was that of the *Cypriote*, which arrived soon after the departure of the Commodore. Subsequently, the *Southampton* landed her cargo, shipped at Macao, when it was thought advisable to enlarge the depot, and accordingly the authorities added a wing to each side.

The Commodore, conceiving it to be of the highest importance that a ship of the squadron should be stationed almost constantly at Lew Chew, to keep alive the friendly interest and good feeling then subsisting between the Americans and the islanders, who were becoming daily more cordial, he determined to leave the *Plymouth*, Commander Kelly, there. He, however, instructed this officer to run over to the Bonin islands, after the termination of the hurricane season, for the purpose both of visiting the settlement at Port Lloyd and of surveying the southern cluster of the Bonins, originally called the Coffin islands, after the first American discoverer in 1823, though, as we have stated before, subsequently appropriated and named by the English Captain Beechy, the Baily group.

The instructions of the Commodore to Commander Kelly referred generally to the conciliatory but firm attitude he desired should be sustained in all the relations of the Americans with the Lew Chewans. It was strictly enjoined upon Captain Kelly that he should receive nothing from the islanders without returning a fair compensation, and always bear himself towards them in such manner as to prove that it was the desire of the United States to cultivate their friendship and secure their confidence. The Commodore, in addition to some detailed instructions in regard to the construction of the coal depot and landing the cargoes from the expected storeships, directed that, in his absence, the survey of Melville harbor and the coast of the island should be made, the investigations already commenced in the waters of Naha be continued, and a boat and officer kept in readiness to pilot in any of the American squadron that might arrive.

In regard to Captain Kelly's visit to the Bonin Islands, he was instructed to proceed with the *Plymouth*, after the hurricane season, about the 1st of October, provided nothing occurred to detain him at Lew Chew, to Port Lloyd, where he was to enquire into the condition of the settlers, especially with respect to Nathaniel Savory and John Smith, two persons who had been enrolled on the books of the steamer *Susquehanna*. He was also directed, after obtaining the services of some of the settlers at Port Lloyd as guides or pilots, to visit the group of islands lying south of Peel Island, and named on Beechy's chart Baily's group. Captain Kelly was then to lay out a chart, giving the result of his survey, and to be careful to give the name of

Coffin, the original discoverer, to the group of islands alluded to. The largest single island, or the one containing the best harbor, was to be called Hillsborough, and its port to be termed Newport. To these directions were added general instructions to examine and survey the harbor and coasts, and to investigate the geological formation and the nature and condition of the soil of the Coffin Islands.

In anticipation of the regular course of the narrative, it may be well to give here the result of Captain Kelly's observations and proceedings at the Lew Chew and Bonin Islands, in accordance with the Commodore's instructions. The officer appointed by the commander of the Plymouth for the survey of the middle group of the Lew Chew Islands and the neighboring waters, reports that on September 15, 1853, he and his party encamped on the island of *Kinda'a*, the southernmost one of the chain extending along the east coast of Great Lew Chew. Here a bay was discovered, but it was found to be of no practical utility, being filled with coral reefs which extend, in fact, in an unbroken chain outside of all the islands as far as the northeast point of *Ichey*, with the exception of a narrow ship channel between the islet off the northeast end of *Kinda'a* and the island of *Tu-ling*. But as this channel leads to a bay with numerous reefs, it is not safe to enter it. In regard to Barrow's Bay, the survey proved it to be useless for all purposes of navigation, from its exposure to easterly winds and the swell from the ocean.

A point of refuge, however, was discovered on the west side of the island of *Ichey*, which forms the southern point of Barrow's Bay, as well as under *Hanadi*, toward both of which a secure anchorage may be found. This is, in fact, the only harbor of refuge on the eastern coast of the Lew Chew group.

The position of Salmouth Islands was found to be in latitude $26^{\circ} 43' 30''$ north, differing $3'$ $30''$ from that assigned to it by Captain Basil Hall in his sketch of the Lew Chew group.

And the outline of the coast was observed also to run in the direction varying somewhat from that laid down by that navigator. The whole of the island of Great Lew Chew was circumnavigated in the course of this survey, under the directions of Commander Kelly.

On the arrival of the Plymouth at the Bonins, it was found that the settlers on Peel Island, the principal one of the group, had of their own accord organized a municipal government, under the title of '*the Colony of Peel Island*'. Commander Kelly also, in accordance with the instructions of Commodore Perry, visited the islands hitherto termed "Baileys," took formal possession of them in the name of the United States, and gave them their proper name of Coffin, a due record of which was made upon the chart, and upon the spot, by affixing a plate, inscribed with the fact, to a large sycamore tree growing about twenty feet from the beach near the northernmost point of the cove, and burying one also, with some documents placed in a bottle, giving a true history of the discovery of the islands, and assigning the credit to the genuine discoverer, the American whaling captain, Coffin.*

* As an interesting specimen of the original effort at civilization making by wanderers from many lands, civilized and savage we subjoin a copy of the

ORGANIZATION OF THE SETTLERS OF PEEL ISLAND

We, the undersigned residents and settlers on Peel Island, in convention assembled with a view to promote each other's mutual welfare by forming a government have ordained and established the following articles which we solemnly bind ourselves to support for the period of two years.

On leaving Napha, the reflection naturally suggested itself to the mind of the Commodore as to the effect produced upon the Lew Chewans by his visit. It seemed evident that a very marked change had taken place in the deportment of the islanders toward the Americans.

There was less mystery about them, and some of the spies had thrown off a portion of their reserve. The Lew Chew authorities probably conjectured, and with good cause, that the trouble they had taken in their attempts to deceive the Commodore, with respect to the condition of their government, the poverty of the islands, and the harmless innocence of the people, was futile, and so much labor lost. And accordingly it was found that, although they still adhered, as if by instinct, to their system of deception, they were not quite so ready with their misrepresentations.

But, after all, many allowances should be made for these mis-governed people, who have been, doubtless, taught from infancy to practice duplicity and lying as a necessary part of an accom-

ARTICLE I

"The style of our government shall be the '*Colony of Peel Island*'"

ARTICLE II.

"The government shall consist of a chief magistrate, and a council, composed of two persons, and by virtue of this article, we hereby unanimously elect and appoint Nathaniel Savory, chief magistrate, and James Mantley and Thomas H Webb, councilmen, each to hold his said office of chief magistrate and councilman for the period of two years from the date of this convention. The said chief magistrate and council shall have power to enact such rules and regulations for the government of this island as to them, from time to time, may appear necessary for the public good, such rules and regulations, to become binding on the residents, must have the approval and concurrence of two thirds of the whole number of residents."

ARTICLE III.

"Until such time as the chief magistrate and council may be enabled to form a code of regulations, we unanimously ordain and establish the following thirteen sections, under this article, which shall have full force and effect until the adoption of others, and until the expiration of two years."

SECTION 1.

"It shall be the duty of any and all person or persons having claims and demands against each other, or who shall have any dispute or difficulties between themselves, which they cannot amicably settle, to refer the same to the chief magistrate and council, for adjudication and settlement, and their decision to be final and binding."

SECTION 2.

"All penalties in this colony shall be a pecuniary fine, and no penalty for any offence shall exceed the sum of ————"

SECTION 3.

"The chief magistrate and council shall have power to direct the seizure and sale of any property of any offenders, sufficient to pay the same, against whom a fine has been decreed, wherever it may be found within the limits of Peel Island."

SIXTH 4

"It shall be unlawful for any resident, settler, or other person, on the island, to entice anybody to desert from any vessel that may come into this port, or to secrete or harbor any such deserter."

SECTION 5

"Any person who shall entice, counsel, or aid, any other person to desert from any vessel in this port, or shall harbor or conceal him to prevent his apprehension, shall be liable to a fine, not exceeding \$50 (fifty dollars)."

SECTION 6.

"All moneys arising from the levy of fines upon offenders shall be a public fund for the use and behalf of the colony, and the same shall be placed in the hands of the chief magistrate for safe keeping, and to be appropriated to such public purposes as the chief magistrate and council may deem necessary and proper; and a correct account of all expenditures of said moneys shall be kept by them, and a statement of receipts and expenditures published at the end of one year."

SECTION 7.

"All public moneys remaining unexpended at the end of one year shall be equally divided among the present settlers, unless otherwise ordained by a convention of the people."

phished education, and altogether essential to advancement. It is certain that they do not, any more than the Japanese, place the least confidence in each other, and the government in employing their agents invariably send them forth in couples, one to watch the other.

The abominable system of espionage imposes great hardships on all classes, as those in power can never know how soon any of their acts, however harmless they may appear to themselves, may be construed into offences against the state. They thus find their lives in constant jeopardy, and are often compelled to purchase safety by the most servile humility, or a good share of their substance. If, by the most prostrate servility, or by the prodigal forfeit of property, they fail to obtain immunity, they are forced to commit suicide, in order to save their fortunes from confiscation and their families from ruin. The lower classes are by no means the

SECTION 8.

"Port Regulations --There shall be two regularly appointed and recognized pilots for this port, and, by virtue of this section of article 3, we hereby unanimously appoint James Maitley and Thomas H. Webb as such for a period of two years from the date of this convention. Said pilots may appoint capable substitutes under them, and it shall be unlawful for any other person or persons to perform the duty of pilots. Any one who shall, without the authority of either of the appointed pilots, attempt to pilot any vessel into or out of this port, shall be liable to a fine equal to the amount of the established rate of pilotage."

SECTION 9.

"It shall be unlawful for any commander of a vessel to discharge any of his crew in this port without permission from the chief magistrate and council, and no commander of a vessel shall leave any sick or helpless man or men upon the island, unless he procure a house for him or them and make suitable arrangements for his or their comfort and subsistence during his or their illness."

SECTION 10.

"Any person or persons not owning land upon this island who may hereafter enter into partnership in trade with a resident and landholder, or who shall purchase an undivided interest in the land of a resident, must enter into written articles of agreement, and obtain a written title to the undivided interest he may purchase in lands, stock, &c., and in the event of dissolution of partnership, or death of either party, partition of the property shall be made by the chief magistrate and council, whose duty it shall be to secure and take charge of the property and effects of any deceased person for the benefit of his friends."

SECTION 11.

"Any person or persons who shall be guilty of trespass or waste upon the lands of any of the inhabitants, shall be fined in a sum equal to the value of the damage or waste he or they may commit thereon, upon a proper adjudication thereof by the chief magistrate and council."

SECTION 12.

"The chief magistrate and council may, when they deem it necessary, call a convention of the people to propose new, and make amendments to the foregoing, rules and regulations."

SECTION 13.

"Any and all person or persons who shall hereafter emigrate to or settle in this colony, shall be subject and held amenable to the foregoing rules and regulations."

All the above articles of government having been prepared, concurred in, and adopted by us, in convention assembled, at the house of Nathaniel Savory, in Port Lloyd, Peel Island, on the 25th day of August, A. D. 1833, we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other to support and carry out the same.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names the day and year aforesaid

NATHANIEL SAVORY,
THOMAS H. WEBB,
JAMES MAITLEY,
WILLIAM GILLY, JR.,
JOHN BRONA,
JOSEPH CULLEN,
GEORGE W. BRUNO,
GEORGE HORTON

smallest sufferers, for it is their hard-tasked labor which supports the whole system which is carried on by swarms of spies, who infest every corner and nook of the island.

On the second evening after leaving Napha, as the *Susquehanna* and *Mississippi* were proceeding on their course to Hong Kong, a sail was seen ahead in the distance, steering in a northeasterly direction. At first there were some doubts as to what she was, but these were soon cleared up by the flashing of her guns, in the approaching darkness of the night, which showed that she was saluting the Commodore's flag on the *Susquehanna*. It was now certain that she was an American man-of-war, and soon she was discovered to be the long-expected *Vandalia*. As she lay to, the *Susquehanna* steered toward her, making a signal for her commander to come on board, and soon a boat came off, bringing Captain Pope, who at once reported to the Commodore. The voyage of the *Vandalia* had been a remarkably fine one, having left Philadelphia only on the fifth of March, touching at Rio Janeiro by the way. Her commander brought the information of the arrival of the *Powhatan* from the United States at Hong Kong, and of her proposed departure for Lew Chew. This information made Commodore Perry very anxious to reach port before the sailing of the *Powhatan*, as her trip to the north would be utterly useless, and the consequent consumption of coal a serious loss to the limited stock of the squadron. The *Vandalia* being ordered back to Hong Kong, the fleet continued its course to that place, where the steamers arrived on Sunday, August 7, 1853.

The *Vandalia*, however, did not get back to Hong Kong until the fifteenth. The Commodore was much disappointed to find that the *Powhatan* had sailed just the day before his arrival, and as she had taken the *Formosa* passage, he had thus lost the chance of intercepting her. She did not return to Hong Kong until the 25th of August, having been detained ten days at Lew Chew for the repair of her machinery; and similar delays had been found necessary, in the opinion of her chief engineer, at almost every port at which the *Powhatan* touched on her outward passage.

As the typhoon season was approaching, and the ships all required a general overhauling, the engineers asking for sixty working days for putting the *Powhatan* alone in order, and the crews needing some relaxation, the Commodore determined, in consideration of these circumstances, to give all his vessels a thorough refitment.



View of the Harbor of Napha from the Commodore.

CHAPTER XVI.

ARM OF AMERICANS IN CHINA—REQUEST TO COMMODORE THAT HE WOULD SEND A SHIP TO CANTON—SUPPLY SENT—THE REST OF THE SQUADRON AT CUN SING MOON—HOSPITAL ESTABLISHED AND HOUSE TAKEN AT MACAO—SICKNESS IN THE SQUADRON—WORK KEPT UP IN ALL DEPARTMENTS, NOTWITHSTANDING—HEALTHINESS OF CANTON—GLEETUONY OF THE CHINESE—CHINESE SERVANTS—CHINESE ENGLISH, OR "PIGEON"—MALE DRESSMAKERS, CHAMBER SERVANTS, ETC—CHINESE FEMALE FEET—CHINESE GUILDS—BEGGARS—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—THIEVES—BOATMEN—LARGING CLASSES—DOMESTIC SERVANTS—POLYGAMY AND ITS MORAL RESULTS—DECADENCE OF MACAO—HUMBLED CONDITION OF THE PORTUGUESE—HARBOR OF MACAO—COMMODORE ESTABLISHES HIS DEPOT FOR THE SQUADRON AT HONG KONG—PLEASANT SOCIETY OF MACAO—POWHEATON STATIONED AT WHAMPOA TO RELIEVE THE RESQUERANVA—SUPPLY STILL AT CANTON—CHINESE PRACE-ABLE TOWARD FOREIGNERS—STEAMER 'QUEEN' CHARTERED TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS IN CHINA WHILE THE SQUADRON SHOULD GO TO YEDDO—SUSPICIOUS MOVEMENTS OF RUSSIANS AND FRENCH INDUCE THE COMMODORE TO HASTEN HIS RETURN TO JAPAN—LAWTON ARRIVES—THE SQUADRON ORDERED TO RENDEZVOUS AT NAGASAKI, LEW CHEW—ORDERS RECEIVED, TO DETACH A STEAMER FOR THE USE OF MR. McLANE, AMERICAN COMMISSIONER TO THE CHINA—EMBARRASSMENT OF THE COMMODORE IN CONSEQUENCE—HIS MODE OF PROCEEDING TO ACCOMPLISH BOTH THE OBJECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT—CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR GEORGE BONHAM TOUCHING THE BONIN ISLANDS—COURTESY OF THE ENGLISH ADMIRAL PELLOW—SQUADRON ASSEMBLES AT NAGASAKI



their time had not elapsed after the arrival of Commodore Perry at Hong Kong before the American merchants at Canton applied to him for further protection to their lives and property, which they believed endangered by what appeared to them the imminent prospect of a revolutionary outbreak in the city. These gentlemen addressed a communication to the Commodore, in which they expressed their great satisfaction at his determination to remain upon the Chinese coast with his squadron until he was prepared to resume negotiations with Japan. They moreover stated their belief that

the revolution which had commenced in China would result in the overthrow of the *Farther*, with no immediate prospect for the future but a confused state of anarchy, without a power anywhere to reduce it to the order of a settled government.

While it was acknowledged that the majority of the Chinese people are distinguished by a disposition to cultivate the peaceful pursuits of industry and commerce, and the opinion was

expressed that the revolutionists were favorably disposed toward foreign intercourse, thus giving hopes for the future prosperity of trade, still it was declared that the disturbed condition of the country was such that, if continued, foreign commerce would be destroyed, and the importation of American goods, so vastly important to the United States, be entirely extinguished.

The chief purpose, however, of the communication from the American merchants was, as it stated, to urge upon the Commodore to send one or more of his vessels to the immediate neighborhood of the factories at Canton, the whole country about which place was swarming with thieves and desperate fellows, lying in wait for an opportunity to attack and plunder the foreign residences, if not to wreak their vengeance upon the persons of their occupants.

The Commodore promptly answered this communication with assurances of his determination to give his countrymen all the protection required in the prevailing crisis of China affairs. He had already sent the *Mississippi* to *Blenheim Reach* to protect the shipping at *Whampoa*, as also to guard against the numerous pirates, and had directed an examination of the river with a view of moving that steamer nearer *Canton*, but as for placing her at the point desired by the American merchants, it was impossible, from her draught of water. The Commodore, however, promised that the *Supply*, which had an efficient armament and accommodations for a hundred and fifty men, should be sent on her arrival, if it were necessary, to the city of *Canton* itself, and if there was any delay in the arrival of that vessel that the storeship *Southampton* should take her place. In the meantime the merchants were informed that they could have, if they desired, a guard of marines and one or more pieces of artillery from the *Mississippi*, which would be landed and stationed at the *Factories*. Moreover, Commander *Lee*, of the steamer *Mississippi*, was instructed to be prepared to land, on the requisition of the acting American vice consul, at a moment's notice, an advanced guard, to be followed, if need be, by a much larger force, composed of detachments from the other ships in the river.

On the arrival of the *Supply* from *Amoy*, the Commodore dispatched her, as he had promised, to take her station at the anchorage opposite the city of *Canton*. Meanwhile the remainder of the squadron were ordered to rendezvous at *Cum sing moon*, a port lying between *Hong Kong* and *Macao*. This port was more safe and commodious, as well as more healthful, than any of the other harbors or anchorages in the neighborhood, and, being the rendezvous of the opium vessels belonging to the merchants of *Canton*, possessed the additional advantage of constant communication with the neighboring towns.

The Commodore, having thus disposed of his squadron, found it convenient, in order to arrange the accumulated results of his voyage to *Jayun* and the *Few Chew* and *Bonin Islands*, to take a house at *Macao*, for facilitating his own business, and for the accommodation of the surviving officers and artists of the expedition to bring up their work. A hospital was also established in the town under the superintendence of the fleet surgeon. The Commodore found the station he selected much more advantageous than it would have been on board either of the ships, or at *Canton* or *Hong Kong*, as *Macao* was an intermediate, or rather central point between these two places and *Cum sing moon*, and where, with mails arriving and departing daily, and steamers and dispatch boats almost hourly, he was enabled to hold communication with them all.

The hospital soon had a good number of inmates sent from the different ships. Scarcely an officer or man escaped an attack of fever of more or less severity, and some few deaths occurred, among which were those of Lieutenant *Adams*, of the *Powhatan*, and the master of the last belonging to the steamer *Mississippi*. The Commodore himself, worn out by duties which were

more than usually heavy, in consequence of the supervision of the labors in connexion with the accumulated results of the expedition, and large correspondence that became necessary from the apprehensions of the danger entertained by the American merchants as likely to result from the disturbed state of China, was finally prostrated and suffered from an attack of illness. Notwithstanding, however, the work of the expedition was not allowed any remission. The surveying officers continued their hydrographical labors and succeeded in preparing fair copies of the charts which had been constructed during the late cruise. The artists and draughtsmen were constantly engaged in making and completing their sketches and drawings, of which more than two hundred were finished. The several apparatus of the magnetic telegraph, the Daguerreotype, and the Talbotype were arranged and put in full operation.

Macao had always hitherto been considered a remarkably salubrious place, and chosen as the usual summer resort of families from Canton and Hong Kong, but the epidemic which prevailed in 1853 proved that it was not always to be exempt from those destructive visitations of disease to which the cities and towns of the east are so much exposed. During the time that so much sickness prevailed at Macao, Canton was comparatively exempt. In fact, this latter city is looked upon, and justly so, as a healthful place when compared with other cities in the neighborhood, and this seems more remarkable when it is considered that the inhabitants are constantly breathing the miasmatic atmosphere arising from the luxuriant and marshy fields of rice and other grains which surround Canton. Many parts of the town itself, in fact, are periodically overflowed by the rising of the river, which makes the circumstance of its comparative healthfulness still more extraordinary. While there was so much sickness at Macao, the public garden of the Factories at Canton was covered with water which approached to the very doors of the merchants, and thus too at a season when, in all inter tropical latitudes, local fevers are to be expected. And notwithstanding all these exciting causes of disease, the officers and crew of the Supply, at anchor off the city, and within the direct influence of them, remained perfectly healthy, while those on board the other ships suffered more or less from the prevailing epidemic.

Various speculations have been advanced to account for the singular exemption of the inhabitants of Canton from the effects of malaria. Some have ascribed it to the vast amount of smoke produced by the burning of wood for domestic purposes, while others have attributed it to the abstemiousness of the people. These reasons seem, however, insufficient to account for it, for if smoke only be effective to dispel the ill influences of malaria, New Orleans should be free from them, for more fuel is certainly burned there than at Canton. As for the abstemiousness of the people, which certainly exists, but from necessity, not choice, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that that would counteract the other habits of their lives, which certainly would appear to be highly unfavorable to health. If narrow, filthy streets, ill ventilated and crowded houses, and uncleanness of person, can produce disease, then it would appear that the people of Canton should be sorely afflicted. But yet all these predisposing causes seem to have no effect either upon the myriads who live and die in crowded boats upon the river, or upon those who throng the land, and years pass away without any serious epidemic.

In regard to the abstemiousness of the Chinese, this, as has been remarked, is altogether a virtue of necessity, as they seem to be fowl enough of the kind and of all sorts of food, however gross, when they can get it. They are certainly the most inordinate feeders in the world, when

supplied with the material necessary for the exercise of their gastronomical propensities. The poorer classes are accustomed to the use of boiled rice only, mixed with small proportions of dried fish, and occasionally with some simple condiments, and they consume enormous quantities of this food, if they have the means of procuring it. Dogs and cats, which are carried about the streets for sale, must be considered delicacies above the reach of the poorer classes, judging from the prices demanded for them. Rats, mice, and other vermin, are also eagerly sought after, and are made up into various savory dishes. To the families belonging to the first boats attached to the ship a good fat rat was one of the most acceptable of presents, which they cooked and served up with their rice, making a dish very much like the French one of *Poulet au riz* in appearance, but as for the taste, that question must be referred to Chinese authorities, as no American or European has yet been found, it is believed, to test it by actual experiment.

Those Chinese employed in the ships of the squadron have always found the navy ration insufficient to satisfy their gluttony, notwithstanding that of the United States vessels is far more abundant and of better quality than the ration of the navy of any other country. A mess of ten American seamen usually stop, each man, two rations, for which they receive the commutation in money. The Chinese, however, although the most sordid of beings not only devoured the entire ration served out to them, but went about the decks collecting what they could pick up from the leavings of the messes, and invariably beset the ship's cooks for the scrapings of the coppers.

The Chinese servants employed in the Commodore's cabin ate, in miscellaneous food, including rice, bread, beef, pork, and the leavings of the table, three times as much as the other attendants. In fact, the enormous quantities of rice they consumed, with whatever else they could seize upon, is almost incredible. As for sugar and other sweets, there would have been no end to their pilfering, if they had not been carefully watched by the steward. This gross feeding exhibited its effects upon the Chinese servants, as it does upon dumb animals, for they soon became fat and lazy.

Most of the Chinese servants employed in the European and American families settled in China engage to find their own food. Their wages vary from four to six and seven dollars per month, the cooks, however, receive from seven to ten. All articles for household consumption, in the foreign establishments, are procured through the agency of a person called a *comprador*, who hires the servants, pays them their wages, and becomes security for their honesty, he keeps a regular account of the domestic expenditure, and settles with his employers at established periodical seasons. In the large mercantile establishments the profits of these *compradors* are very considerable. However ample a dinner may have been furnished, it would be difficult to secure at some of the residences, where little attention is paid to the economy of the household by the proprietors themselves, anything for a late guest arriving half an hour after the meats had been served. Scarcely are the dishes taken from the dining room, before they are on their way to the neighboring eating houses there to be reheated into stews, and sold to the middle classes. In the homes of the merchants, who are called upon, as a part of their business, to keep up abundant tables, great waste must necessarily take place, but as the expenditure goes to the profit and loss of the concern, it is of little consequence. The missionaries and others, of small means, are necessarily obliged to it to make both ends meet.

In the houses of the foreign merchants, where there happen to be no ladies, female servants

are unknown, and what would appear to be repugnant to our own sense of delicacy, there are even some English and American families without female domestics, although ladies form part of the household. The reason assigned is the difficulty of obtaining trusty maid servants



Chinese G 1, Showing Female Dress.

It was, however, observed, that in all the families containing children, either maid servants or women of Macao, called Amahs or Ayahs, were employed

The wages of the latter at Macao are four dollars a month but if taken to Canton or Hong Kong they demand additional compensation. Many of the women speak a little of the lingua called Chinese English, or in the cant phrase, *peg on*, which sounds very ludicrous to those first hearing it, but one soon finds himself drawn necessarily into this manner of making himself understood. The Macao women possessing this elegant accomplishment demand higher wages

There is certainly some excuse for employing male attendants about the bed chamber and dressing rooms, when it is known that the Chinese lords of creation are the only tailors, dress-makers washers, ironers and doers up of fine linen. In Canton, however, there are some women hired by the tailors to do plain sewing, for which they receive nearly as little as our needle workers, and those poor creatures in Great Britain, over whose misery and living death Hood sang his dirge. Their pay is from five to seven cents a day. The male tailors are somewhat better paid and will go to any house and work for twelve hours at the rate of twenty five cents a day, they finding their own food or as they call it their '*chow-chow*'. It is not uncommon to see a dirty small footed female sitting at some corner in the street, with a supply of sewing materials and a few rags, ready to stitch up a rent or put a patch upon the garments of any passer

by who may want her services. Toward night she may be seen hobbling home, with her stock in trade, on her disgusting stumps, of which she is seemingly very proud.

All the Chinese women, in fact, pride themselves very much on their goat-like hoofs, and have the greatest possible contempt for a natural foot. Little girls are said to importune their mothers with tears in their eyes to compress their feet, as promising them a higher position in society, although females of the lower orders are frequently observed with the aristocratic hoof, but these are those who have, possibly, seen better days. It is difficult for strangers to get a sight of these singular deformities, as the Chinese women manifest the greatest reluctance to show them, but Dr. Parker prevailed upon a girl of thirteen, who was a patient in his hospital, to unbandage in the presence of her mother, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the Commodore, who had quite enough in one glance of that shapeless stump, which appeared more like a specimen of bad surgery, such as Dr. Parker would have been doubtless ashamed of, than, as the Chinese considered it, an elegance of fashion.

These horrid hoofs are very carefully looked after by the Chinese women, and are swathed in gay bandages of all colors, and shod with a high heeled shoe, richly worked and adorned.

A fashionable ladies dressmaker in China, where all these indispensable servitors of fashion are males, is always greatly in demand among the foreign ladies, and it is as necessary to bespeak his services in time at Canton and Macao as it is those of a Miss Lawson in New York. These man milliners generally require what they call a *muster*, or pattern, which they, with the usual Chinese imitative skill, reproduce exactly, whether of London, Paris or New York fashion, and adapt it to any form or size. It was by no means an agreeable sight, on passing one of the dark and dirty tailor shops at Macao, to behold the greasy and half naked Chinaman, late at night, busily plying his dirty fingers about a splendid female dress, destined to drape the graceful form of some beautiful woman at the coming ball or dinner party. These male dressmakers are held in such estimation by those resident in China, that some few European and American ladies have been known, on leaving the country, to carry away a China man-milliner with them.

The ordinary compensation for all operatives in Canton, who find their food, varies from twelve to twenty cents a day. Farm hands, when fed, receive six cents for twelve hours work, being at the rate of a farthing an hour. The day laborers, chair bearers, and porters, if not hired by the job, are paid from twenty to twenty five cents. Boatmen's wages are from one and a half to two and a quarter dollars per month, when found, which latter condition generally includes food, not only for themselves, but for their wives and children, who live with them in the boat.

Porters, and those of other crafts in Canton, form themselves into guilds, and appoint leaders, or headmen, who contract for labor of various sorts. This system of organization is not confined to those who work, but extends to those who beg. The beggars, like the gipsies, have their kings, who assign to their ragged subjects their particular offices of vagabondage and their respective fields of operation, and what is singular, the laws of China secure to these rogues certain rights and privileges. These laws give to them the right of approaching and knocking at the door of any domicile, or to enter the shops, and there to strike together a couple of sticks similar to those used by the watchmen employed by families to guard their premises against thieves, these sticks produce a disagreeable sound, and, however long the beggars keep up this annoyance they cannot be legally ejected until they are paid the usual gratuity, which is the smallest coin in use, termed a *cash*, and which in value is about the twelfth of a cent, when

supplied with this the beggar takes his departure, and repeats the stick striking nuisance next door, and so on until he has completed his daily circuit



Chinese Beggar—Ma ao.

It is said that one hundred of these mendicants are assigned by their king to Old China street alone, which is altogether occupied by wealthy shop keepers. Some of these commute with the beggars, by paying them a round sum for exemption from the annoyance of these noisy visitors, others refuse to do this, and hold out as long as their patience will allow, with a view of wasting the time of the suppliant who having a right to visit all the shops, desires to make the greatest number of calls possible in the course of the day, and thus be able to pay into the general treasury at night the largest amount of cash. The organized beggars have their own benevolent institutions where provision is made for the sick and needy and the old and infirm. The number of these well disciplined gentry can hardly be estimated by a stranger, but it is

undoubtedly very large, if we may judge from the crowds which infest those parts of the city of Canton accessible to foreigners

Each city has its own laws with respect to mendicants, and its own charitable institutions. In Canton there are four principal benevolent establishments—one for widows, another for foundlings, a third for furnishing coffins for the dead relations of indigent families, and the fourth for "loafers." They are all, however, so badly managed, that they answer very indifferently the purpose intended, for it happens very generally in China, as is too often the case in Christianized countries, that those who have the control of these institutions contrive to embezzle the revenues, and thus make themselves rich by taking care of the poor. Whether thieving is one of the recognized functions of these beggars or not, is not known, but it is quite clear that they can and do turn their hand with great skill to occasional small pilfering, in which they show themselves as great adepts as the most accomplished pickpockets in any part of the world.

The Americans, during the detention of the squadron on the coast of China, had occasion to become practically acquainted with the mode of carrying on business on the part of the lower or laboring classes. Among these, the boatmen and boatwomen were those with whom there was, of course, the most frequent relations. The men of war, as in fact do most of the merchant vessels, employ what is called a *fast* boat, which is always in charge of a skipper. This man's family, if he have one, which is almost universally the case, lives with him in his boat, and assists in rowing, steering, managing the sails, and in otherwise conducting the craft. The children are born and grow up in the boat, rarely leaving her, and, in proportion to their number and strength, contribute to the profit of their father, who happens to be the proprietor. The females lend a hand as readily as the males, and both sexes are seen laboring alike. A skipper who has the misfortune to be childless, has to employ six or eight laborers to assist him in the management of his fast boat, while he who has been blessed with a numerous progeny can dispense with these expensive assistants. Forty dollars a month is the ordinary rate paid by ships for the hire of one of these boats.

There are various other descriptions of boatmen and boatwomen plying their curious craft in the Canton river, there are those who manage the flower boats, the *hong* boats, the pull away boats, the numerous fishing boats, and the Tanka boats. The latter, and their picturesquely costumed female tenders, have been already described somewhat in a previous chapter, but it may not be uninteresting to give some additional details in regard to them. They are used as passenger boats to carry people backwards and forwards from the land to the shipping in the harbor. In construction they are short, but broad in beam. In the centre there is a canopy of matting under which the passengers sit or recline. The crew generally consists of two women, who are often quite young, and who are generally joint proprietors, and a little female apprentice of twelve or thirteen years of age. One of the elder girls sculls and steers the Tanka boat, the other sits in the bow and rows, while the chief function of the youthful apprentice is to collect the fare, see to the comfort of the passengers, and make herself generally useful.

These girls rarely leave their boats except to purchase their simple food of rice, dried fish, and leeks, which they cook on board, except in very boisterous weather, when it becomes necessary to haul their craft on shore. On the latter occasion they are always ready to lend each other a hand and getting their boats high and dry on the land, and snugly protected, they form quite a group on the shore, like a flock of amphibious marine birds, and await their

selves of the opportunity to gossip and visit each other, which they do on board of their stranded barks

In regard to the lower or laboring classes of China, of whom the Commodore had an opportunity of forming some judgment, as he was brought in contact with them from the necessity of availing himself of their services, he was agreeably disappointed, as he found them, practically, not so bad after all. It is true honesty is only a conventional virtue with the Chinese, but it can be obtained for money, like anything else among that nation of shopkeepers, and if a Chinese laborer stipulates to be honest for a consideration, he may, in ordinary cases, be depended upon, especially if he furnishes security for the fulfilment of his contract. If however, honesty has not been made expressly a part of the bargain, a Chinaman thinks he retains the right of lying, cheating and thieving, to the full extent of his opportunity and the utmost bent of his inclinations. In engaging servants, it is customary to require of them to produce securities who will hold themselves accountable for their honesty and good conduct. Without an endorsement, no foreign merchant would think of taking a Chinese domestic into his house hold any more than he would receive across the desk of his counting room an equivocal note without the security of a good house or name.



Chinese Fruit Seller—Macao.

It is difficult to form any just estimate of the higher classes in China without an opportunity which few can possess of mixing in intimate social intercourse with them. The foreign merchants whose relations with the country are entirely commercial have but little occasion of knowing any others than those engaged in trade. The missionaries have an opportunity, undoubtedly, of extending their observations over a wider range but their experience is generally confined to the outskirts of society.

There was no very complete account of the social habits and characteristics of the Chinese.

people until the publication of Pèrè Huc's book of travels, which contains certainly the best account extant of the inner life of China. What is seen by a casual visitor of Chinese society is not calculated to impress him very favorably. The position of women is such as to destroy all the best features of domestic life. Polygamy being allowed by the laws of China, as well as concubinage, women are naturally considered as mere household slaves to gratify the passions and do menial service at the will of their lords and masters. The men do not treat females as equals and seemingly avoid their society as much as possible, for they are passing their leisure hours at the tea and opium houses, while the women are kept at home in a state of domestic slavery. As among the negroes on the western coast of Africa, the wealth of a king or chief is estimated by the stock of wives he has been enabled to purchase, with all the cocoa nut oil, gold



Dress of Chinese Lady of Rank.

dust and elephant's tusks he can muster so in China himself who can be bought to call a man husband make his wives and swell his importance. The very wealthy and aristocratic are the exclusive few, however in China, who can afford the luxury of a multiplicity of wives.



The Commodore's residence at Macao gave him an opportunity of extending his observations of that place, beyond what had been offered by his previous casual visit.

Macao, once so famed for its extensive and profitable commerce and for its wealth, is now entirely divested of them, and seems to be sustained only by a small coasting trade, the expenditures of a limited garrison, and those of the families of the English and American merchants who make it a summer resort, and, having abundance of money, freely disburse it. The Portuguese jurisdiction is confined within very narrow limits. The Chinese settlements seem to be fast absorbing the whole place, in fact, the larger portion of the population of the town is already composed of Chinese men and women, who perform most of the menial duties in the domestic establishments, both of the Portuguese and of other foreigners.



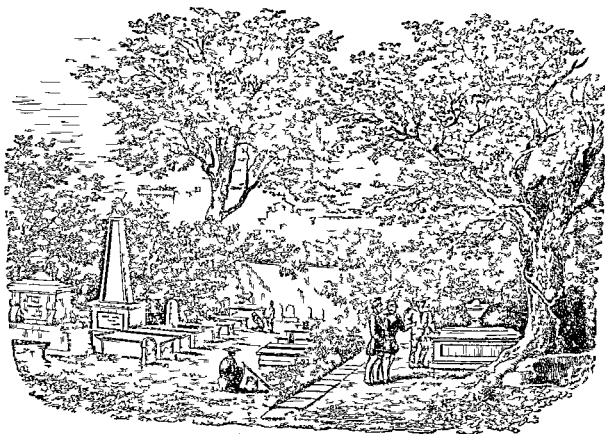
Chinese Barber—Ma ao.

The Chinese are also the shopkeepers, the mechanics, and the market people. What the native Portuguese have to do it would be difficult to conjecture. They are, with some exceptions

of wealthy merchants, mostly very poor and too proud to work, there are some few, however, who are employed as clerks in the various foreign mercantile houses, while the greater portion spend their time in idleness, living upon the remnants of the once princely fortunes of their ancestors, and still occupy, in beggarly poverty, the stately mansions erected in the olden time of Macao's splendid prosperity.

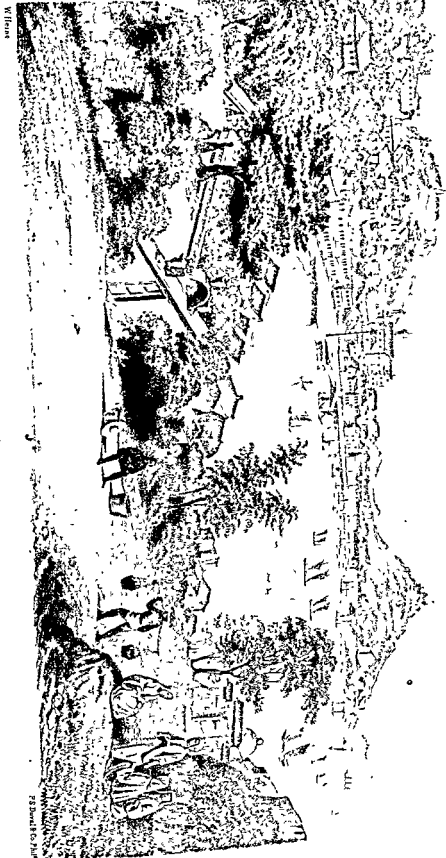
There is still a show of military possession on the part of the Portuguese, who hold the surrounding hills, covering the city with fortified works, constructed after the fashion of the seventeenth century. These seem quite sufficient to keep the Chinese in due awe, who, if they had the least energy, could easily dislodge the Portuguese, for whom they have no great affection, and might drive them altogether from the country. The Portuguese garrison consists of about two hundred regular soldiers and as many local militia, all of whom are under excellent discipline, and better dressed and more orderly men are seldom seen.

It will be, perhaps, recollected that the English East India Company, before the abolition of its charter, made Macao a sort of entrepot for its China trade, and some of the finest residences were erected by that munificent corporation, or by the ostentatious Portuguese in their days of wealth and prosperity. One of these magnificent dwellings, with a garden of more than an acre in extent, tastefully laid out, and still kept in order at considerable cost, could be hired, at



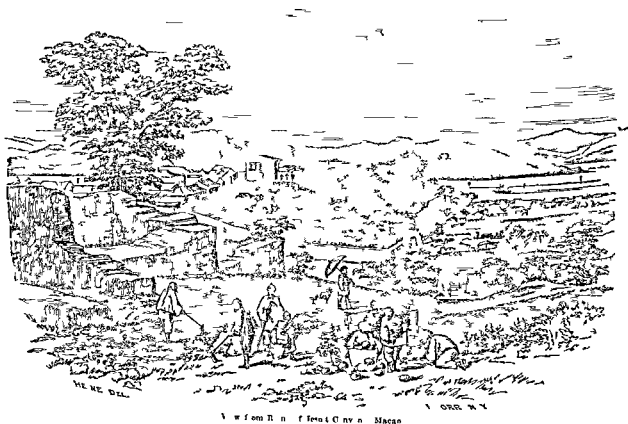
Poet's Garden in Macao

the time of the Commodore's visit for the small sum of five hundred dollars a year, and this place has the additional advantage of the romantic association with the name of the poet Camoens, it having been his favorite resort, and the spot upon which, as the reader has already



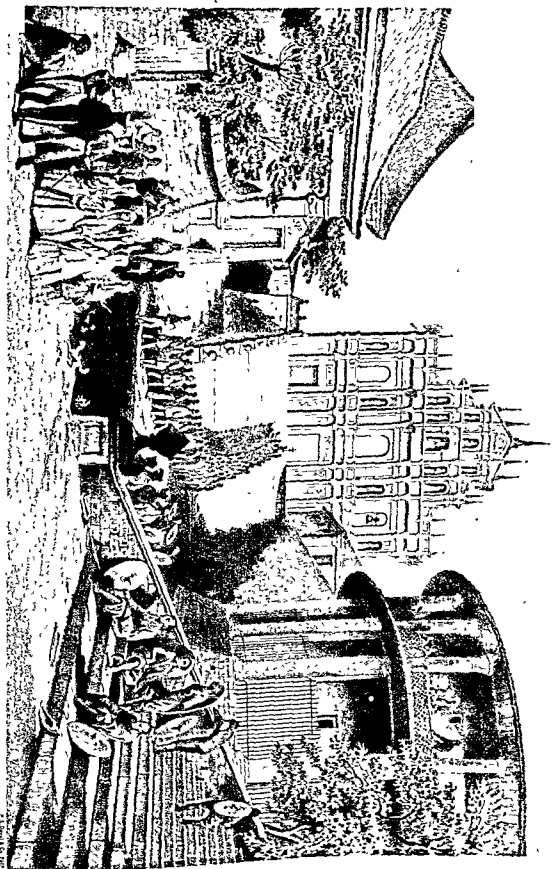
MACAO FROM PENHA HILL.

beauties of the country were full of interest, and the town, with its pleasant foreign society, presented many attractions. During his stay there he made the acquaintance of many of the residents, among whom were the families of several of the Canton merchants having summer establishments at Macao, to which they were accustomed to retire during the hot months, and where they exercise the kindest and most liberal hospitality. Monsieur de Bourboulon, the French minister to Canton, had a residence at Macao, and with his wife, an American lady, whom he married while secretary of legation at Washington, contributed much toward heightening the charms of social intercourse.



The French commodore Monsieur de Montreuil came with his squadron and anchored in the outer road and Commodore Perry had an opportunity of forming his acquaintance and of interchanging with him as well as with Monsieur de Bourboulon, and indeed, with all the principal residents of Macao the acts of hospitality and kindness which are invariably allied to a just appreciation of mutual courtesy.

With Governor Gouveia an officer of the Portuguese navy, whom the Commodore had met before on the coast of Africa there were the most friendly and intimate relations, as well as with Captain Moreira of the same service and it is due to both these officers to acknowledge their courteous deportment in the course of all the official transactions with them. The utmost good feeling prevailed in the intercourse with Sir George Bland the British superintendent of affairs in China and Governor of Hong Kong and with the military and naval commanders-in-chief as well as with the mandarins of the country and the local authorities.



THE SHIP COMPANY'S MARCH

limited space. In the governor's attempts to effect these improvements, he was charged by the Chinese with desecrating their ancient burial places. He had received several obscure hints to the effect that his life was in danger, but paid little or no attention to them. In accordance with his usual practice, he was riding in the afternoon on the outskirts of the town, the common resort of equestrians, accompanied by his aid de-camp, Lieutenant Leite, also on horseback, while a number of other horsemen were not far off, when, as he came to a part of the road skirted by a few bushes, a Chinaman, or perhaps more, as the number was never exactly ascertained, rushed upon him from behind them. The governor's bridle was snatched from his single hand, (for he had only one arm, the other having been lost in battle,) and he himself was dragged from his horse behind the ambuscade of bushes, his head cut off and his hand severed, leaving nothing but his maimed and lifeless body for the startled view of the other horsemen who rode up, and eagerly but in vain sought after the assassin. No traces were ever discovered of the distridly murderer or murderers, and the Portuguese council of Macao, in spite of the strictest investigations, could never get any clue to the authors of the crime. The Chinese authorities, however, it was suspected must have been acquainted with the persons of the villains, as after repeated summons of the Portuguese council of Macao the severed head and hand of the unfortunate governor were sent to the city. This murder occurred only two months after the act of Captain Keppel, which had greatly chagrined the gallant Amaral.

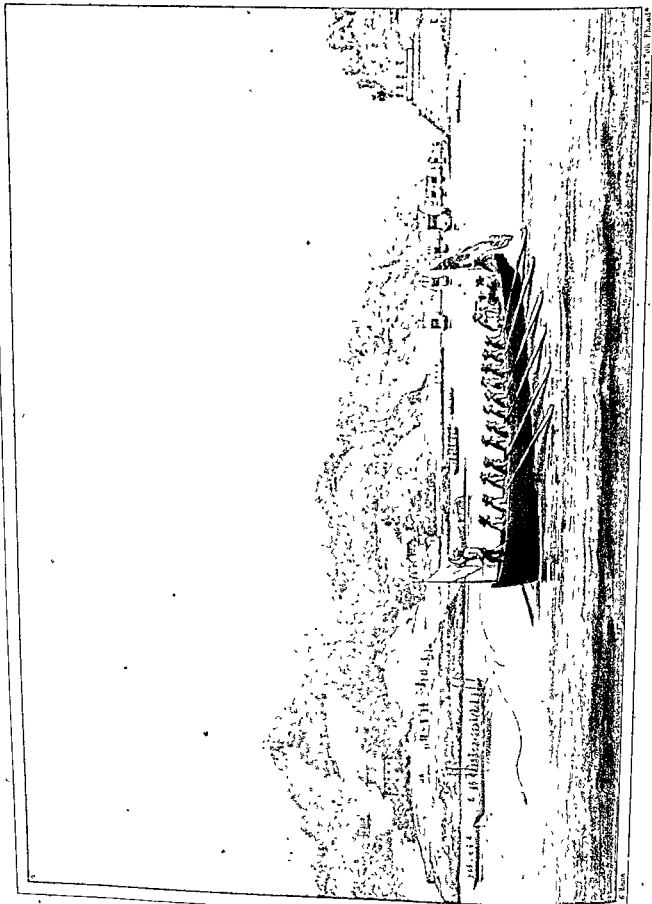
The engineers having reported, towards the latter end of October, that the machinery of the steamer Powhatan was in good working order, she was sent to take the place of the Susquehanna. This latter vessel had previously relieved the Mississippi at Whampoa. Each steamer in turn dispatched an officer of marines with a competent guard and one of the boat howitzers to remain at Canton during her stay at Whampoa. The guard was stationed on board the Supply, then lying off the town, while the officer was a guest at the house of some one or other of the American merchants, that he might be in readiness in case of any disturbance at night. All this time, however, there was not the slightest incident that could in any degree justify an opinion that a revolt was seriously contemplated by the Chinese people, and up to the day of the departure everything remained as quiet in Canton as at the moment of first sending vessels and a guard to the city. Nor had there been any outbreak, at either of the consular cities, which had in the least affected Americans or foreigners of whatever nation, during the presence of the squadron on the Chinese coast.

However the Chinese may have quarrelled among themselves and cut each other's throats, not a foreigner conducting himself properly had been in the least degree molested. Before leaving the Chinese coast, Commodore Perry had succeeded in establishing the most cordial understanding with the Canton merchants, and, in consideration of the necessity of withdrawing the Supply from that city and the Powhatan from Whampoa, had determined, at the request of the merchants, to assume the responsibility of hiring and arming a small steamer for the protection of the American residents during his absence. Conformably to this determination, the Commodore chartered a new and very suitable vessel, the steamboat Queen, for six months, at two rate of hire. To this steamer was assigned a sufficient armament, and the command was given to Lieutenant Alfred Taylor of the Mississippi, with such complement of officers, engineers, sailors and crewmen, as could be spared from the squadron. The Commodore had the satisfaction of receiving from the leading American merchants a communication, in which it was stated

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VIEW OF HIRACI VESSEL

would prefer to have the purport of their conversation put in writing. To this proposition Sir George immediately assented, and the following day he wrote a letter recapitulating what he had already personally stated, to which the Commodore replied.*

* SUPERINTENDENCY OF TRADE, HONG KONG, December 22, 1853

Sir With reference to my interview with your excellency, respecting your visit to the Bonin Islands, and to your proposal that I should address you officially on this subject, I have now the honor to enclose, for your information, copy of a letter and its enclosures from a Mr Simpson, wherein it is stated that you have purchased ground from a resident there for a coal depot, for the use of the government of the United States of America.

After our conversation yesterday your excellency will, I am sure, clearly understand that it is not my desire nor intention to dispute your right, or that of any other person, to purchase land on the Bonin Islands; but as it is generally understood that this group was some time ago taken possession of in the name of the government of Great Britain, I think it desirable to acquaint your excellency therewith, in an official form; that you may, should you see fit, favor me with an explanation of the circumstances referred to by Mr Simpson.

I have the honor to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

J. G. BONHAM.

His Excellency Commodore PERRY, United States navy, &c,
United States Steamship Susquehanna.

BEACLEY, INVERNESSHIRE, October 1, 1853.

MY LORD I observe it stated in the public prints that the officer commanding the United States Japan expedition had touched at the Bonin group—that he had made purchase from a resident there of land for a government coal depot.

Permit me to call your lordship's attention to the fact that this group of islands, so advantageously situated for opening up intercourse with Japan, really appertains to Great Britain.

Having had some connexion with it while acting temporarily for her Majesty's government in the South Seas, its importance was impressed upon my mind, and I respectfully bring under your lordship's notice the particulars which will be found narrated in the enclosure herewith.

I have, &c,

ALEX. SIMPSON

True copy

H. N. LAY.

LORD CLARENDON, &c, &c, &c

Extract from a pamphlet published by the writer in 1843

THE BONIN ISLANDS.

"WOAHOO, SANDWICH ISLANDS, December 27, 1842

"This small but interesting, and, from its situation, valuable group of islands lies in latitude 27° north, longitude 140° east, within five hundred miles distance from the city of Jedo, in Japan.

"It appertains to Great Britain, having been discovered by an English whaling vessel in 1820, and formally taken possession of by Captain Beechey, of her Majesty's ship 'Blossom,' in 1827. There were no aboriginal inhabitants found on the islands, nor any trace that such had ever existed.

"Their aggregate extent does not exceed two hundred and fifty square miles, but their geographical position—so near Japan, that mysterious empire, of which the trade will one day be of immense value—gives them a peculiar importance and interest. The climate is excellent, the soil rich and productive, and there is an admirable harbor, well fitted for the port of a commercial city.

"The first colonists of this eastern group were two men of the names of Millicham and Mazarro, who, having expressed to Mr Charlton, the British consul at the Sandwich Islands, their wish to settle on some uninhabited island in the Pacific ocean, they sailed accordingly, in 1830, took with them some Sandwich Island natives as laborers, some live stock and seeds, and landing at Port Lloyd, hoisted an English flag which had been given to them by Mr Charlton.

"The little settlement has been visited by several whaling vessels since that period, and also by a vessel from the British China squadron. Mr Millicham returned to England, and Mr Mazarro, anxious to get additional settlers or laborers to join the infant colony, the whole population of which only numbers about twenty, came to the Sandwich Islands in the autumn of 1842 in an English whaling vessel. He described the little settlement as flourishing, stated that he had hogs and goats in

The following are the copies of the letter of the Navy Department and the Commodore's answer, which latter was necessarily hurried, as it was written and dispatched by the pilot after the squadron was fairly under way and standing out of port.

Secretary of the Navy to Commodore Perry

NAVY DEPARTMENT, October 28, 1853

Sir For some months past, the department indulged the hope of being able to dispatch a steamer to China, to be at the service of the commissioner representing our government, and to afford him facilities for accomplishing the great purposes of his mission, rendered much more interesting and important by the startling revolutionary movements in that country. The United States steamer Princeton was especially set apart for that purpose. But the steamers

abundance and a few cattle, that it grew Indian corn and many vegetables, and had all kinds of tropical fruits, that, in fact, he could supply fresh provisions and vegetables to forty vessels annually.

"Mr. Mazarro, who, in virtue of his first arrival, receives the appellation of governor, finds the task of governing even this little colony no easy matter. He applied to me for assistance in this task, and thankfully received the following document, which I drew up for his assistance and moral support.

"I hereby certify that Mr. Matthew Mazarro was one of the original leaders of the expedition fitted up from this port, under the protection of Richard Charlton, esq., her Majesty's consul, to colonize the Bonin Islands, and I would intimate to the masters of all whaling vessels touching at that group, that the said Mazarro is a sober and discreet man, and recommend them to support him by all means in their power against the troublers of the peace of that distant settlement, recommending, also, to the settlers to receive Mr. Mazarro as their head, until some officer directly appointed by her Britannic Majesty is placed over them."

ALEX. SIMPSON,

"H. B. N. Acting Consul for the Sandwich Islands

"God save the queen
"A small body of enterprising emigrants would find this group a most admirable place for settlement. Its colonization, indeed, I consider to be a national object."

H. N. LAY

True copy

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE SQUENAHANA,
Hong Kong, December 23, 1853

Sir Referring to the conversation which I yesterday had the honor of holding with your excellency, as also to your written communication, with accompanying papers, this moment received, I beg to remark that the account given by Mr. Simpson is far from being correct.

That gentleman has omitted to name all the white persons who embarked on the enterprise to form a settlement upon Peel Island. The names and places of birth of these men may be enumerated as follows: Mateo Mazarro, the leader, a native of Genoa, Nathaniel Savory, born in Massachusetts, United States, Alden B. Chapin, also a native of Massachusetts, John Millicham, a British subject, and Charles Johnson, a Dane.

These five men, accompanied by about twenty five or thirty natives of the Sandwich Islands, male and female, landed at Port Lloyd in the summer of 1830. Of the whites, Nathaniel Savory is now residing at Guam, one of the Ladrone group. Millicham and Johnson, are dead, as I am informed, and Millicham is now residing at Guam, one of the Ladrone group.

It would, therefore, appear, that no far as the nationality of the settlers could apply to the question of sovereignty, the Americans were as two to one, compared with the three others, who were subjects of different sovereigns.

Since the first occupation of the island, the early settlers have been occasionally joined by white persons landing from whaling ships, some few of whom have remained, and, at the time of my visit there were, I think, about eight whites in the settlement.

These people, after my departure, met together and established a form of municipal government, electing Nathaniel Savory their chief magistrate and James Mastley and Thomas H. Webb, councillors.

With respect to any claim of sovereignty that may be founded upon the right of previous discovery, there is abundant evidence to prove that these islands were known to navigators as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, and were visited by the Japanese in 1673, who gave them the name of "Bone Jima." (See enclosed extracts.)

In 1823, three years before the visit of Captain Beechey, in H. M. ship "Flossom," the group was visited by a Captain Coffin, in the American whaling ship "Transit."

"I have ascertained the name of this vessel from a Captain Morris, commanding an American whaling ship now in this port. Since the above was written the Commodore has taken pains to procure evidence, on oath, that Coffin was born in the United States. As to the ship he has no further testimony than that stated above."

Since the above was written the Commodore has taken pains to procure evidence, on oath, that Coffin was born in the United States. As to the ship he has no further testimony than that stated above.

Princeton, San Jacinto, and Alleghany, have all proved miserable failures. This accounts, therefore, for the delay of a previous order similar to this.

The President trusts that it may not seriously incommode your operations, in regard to Japan, to co-operate with our commissioner in the interesting undertaking to bring about free intercourse with the government of China, to form commercial treaties of vast benefit to the American people, and introduce a new era in the history of trade and commerce.

The mission in which you are engaged has attracted much attention, and excited much expectation. But the present seems to be a crisis in the history of China, and is considered by many as throwing around China, at least, as much interest and attraction as Japan presents.

To have your name associated with the opening of commercial intercourse with Japan may well excite your pride, but to be identified, also, with the great events that we trust may yet transpire in connexion with China, may be well esteemed a privilege and an honor.

Hoping that it may not interfere seriously with your plan of operations, you will, on receipt of this communication, immediately dispatch one of the war steamers of your squadron to Macao, to meet the Hon R M McLane, our commissioner to China, to be subject to his control until other orders reach you. Mr McLane will bear with him further instructions to you. In the meantime, however, you will act as heretofore in the matter of your mission—only dispatching the vessel as above mentioned. Mr McLane will probably leave on the 19th proximo.

Your very interesting dispatches of 25th June last have been received, and the department is much gratified with your successful operations thus far, and indulges the hope, that in regard to Japan and China there is in store for you much additional honor and fame.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J C DOBBIN

Commodore M C PERRY,

Commanding United States Squadron, East India and China Seas

Thus it is plainly shown that the government of Her Britannic Majesty cannot claim the sovereignty upon the ground of discovery and that only remains to determine how far this right may be derived from the ceremony performed by Captain Beechey. But these are matters only to be discussed by our respective governments, and I refer to them now merely in explanation of our conversation of yesterday.

With respect to my purchase of a piece of ground from Nathan el Savory, though conceiving myself in no way bound to explain such arrangement, I do not hesitate, in all due courtesy, to say, that the transaction was one of a strictly private character.

In acquiring the fee of the land, I had not the slightest idea of personal profit but made the purchase for a legitimate object, and to withhold the only suitable position for the harbor for a coal depot from the venality of unprincipled speculators, who might otherwise have gained possession of it for purposes of extortion.

And now let me assure your excellency that the course pursued by me has been influenced solely by a settled conviction of the necessity of securing ports of refuge and supplies in the north Pacific for our whaling ships, and a line of mail steamers, which sooner or later must be established between California and China.

The recognized sovereignty of these islands would only entail an expense upon the power undertaking their occupancy and protection, and whether they may ultimately fall under the American or the English or a local flag would be a question of little importance so long as the ports were open to the hospitable reception of all nations seeking shelter and refreshment.

And I may venture further to remark, that it would seem to be the policy, as well of England as of the United States, to aid in every possible way in the accomplishment of an arrangement that would fill up the remaining link of the great mail route of the world, and thus furnish the means of establishing a semi-monthly communication around the entire globe.

With great respect, I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

M C PERRY,

Commander-in-Chief United States naval forces, East India, China, and Japan seas

His Excellency Sir GEORGE BUXHAM BART,
H. B. M. Chief Superintendent of Trade, Hong Kong

Commodore Perry to the Secretary of the Navy

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE SUSQUEHANNA,
Hong Kong, January 14, 1853

SIR On the eve of getting under way for Japan, with all my arrangements made to leave in an hour, and a large portion of my force actually gone, I am placed in possession of the letter of the department of the 28th of October, (which arrived by the mail of last night,) directing me, under certain views of the government with respect to China, to detach one of the steamers of my command, to be placed at the disposal of Mr R M McLane, recently appointed Commissioner to China

Such an arrangement, at this moment, would be seriously inconvenient and highly injurious to my plans, the execution of which has already commenced, indeed, it could not be done at this time without deranging the operations of the squadron—so intimately are the steamers connected with each other, and I feel assured that, if the department could be made acquainted with the true state of things, and the importance of my carrying the three steamers with me to Japan, as it now knows of the events of my former visit to that Empire, it would at once revoke the order, but, as it is my duty to obey, though it cannot be done at this moment without serious consequences to the success of my mission, I will detach one of the steamers from the Bay of Yedo, and send her to Macao, where only she can be of use in contributing to the convenience of the commissioner, as her great draught of water will render it impossible to ascend, for any useful purpose, the rivers in China

My various letters to the department will, I think, demonstrate the correctness of this assertion. However, I have no alternative, though I cannot but express the deep disappointment and mortification to which I am subjected

Although Mr McLane may not find a steamer waiting for him at Macao when he arrives, I will order her to the coast of China the moment I can do so consistently with the public interests

I am sure the department will not object to the exercise of this discretion—no possible inconvenience can arise from the delay Mr McLane may probably be detained some time in Europe, and the steamer may be back in time to meet him, and before he will be prepared to act

I must confess that this order has dampened my hopes very much, but I will do the best I can

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M C PERRY,
Commander-in-chief of United States Naval Forces
in the East India, China, and Japan Seas

Hon JAMES C DOBBIN,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington

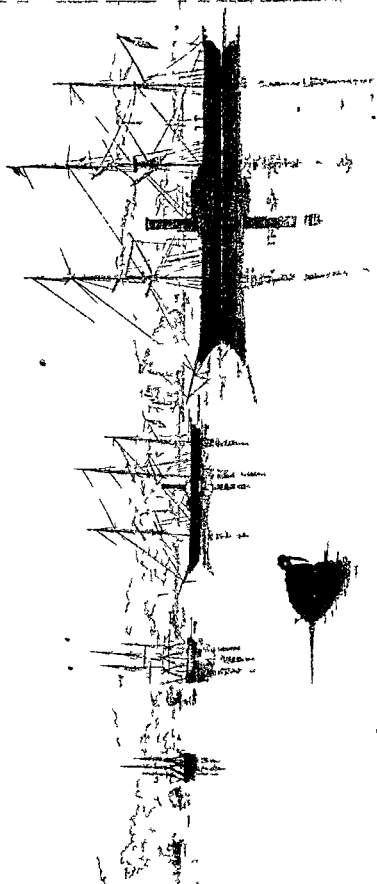
The English mail steamer, which had arrived just before the departure of the squadron, had brought the cases and packages expected from Paris, containing presents for the Japanese, They were therefore passed over to the care

of some commercial friends at Canton, who were requested to send them to Shanghai by her Majesty's steamer the *Rattler*, to sail for that place two days after the Commodore's departure, and on board of which they were to be received by the polite permission of Admiral Pellé. They were to be shipped then in the *Saratoga*, which would carry them to Lew Chew, where they were duly received in time for the second expedition to Japan.

The squadron having set sail from Hong Kong, the course was directed through Lymoon passage. It was thought desirable to get well to the northward before striking over for the south end of Formosa. The northerly current, which is constantly acting with great rapidity round the south end of this island, and with decreased velocity along its eastern coast, was especially noticed during the voyage and careful observations, the results of which will be given in a future chapter, were made upon its force, direction, and other characteristics, which resemble remarkably those of the Gulf stream on our own coast. The monsoon fortunately not having been very strong, a very favorable passage was made with the two store ships in tow as far as the northeastern point of Formosa, when they were cast off, with orders to follow the steamers to Napha, where the latter arrived on the 20th of January, and the former on the twenty-fourth of the same month. Here were found the *Macedonian*, *Vandalia*, and *Supply*. The *Saratoga*, however, had not yet made her appearance.



View on the Looe and River



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answer, that it would be far more respectful toward the empire of Lew Chew to go to the royal palace, and added that he would expect that horses, kago's, and kago bearers should be in readiness to carry him and his attending party on the day proposed for the visit.

The regent was prepared to meet this demand with all the usual variety of objections, in accordance with the crooked Lew Chewan policy, but they were answered by the Commodore's repetition of his original resolve.

The regent accordingly put the best face possible on the matter, and made all the necessary preparations, and when the Commodore, on the 3d of February, carried his intentions into execution he was received with all proper respect and the usual courtesies. He paid his first visit, as on the previous occasion, to the palace, accompanied by a military guard and a suite of officers, and was received with the same formal ceremonies. Immediately after, as on the former visit, the party proceeded to the regent's house, where they found a handsome feast in preparation, to which the Americans, having now somewhat accustomed their palates to the Lew Chewan cookery, succeeded in doing better justice than on the previous occasion. In the course of the entertainment the Commodore informed the regent that he was desirous of obtaining for the United States mint, in exchange for American coinage of equal value, all coins in use on the island, as it was well known that the imperial money of Japan was in circulation in Lew Chew, although it had hitherto been carefully concealed. Both the regent and the pe-chung or treasurer declared that there were no coins in the island, except a few in the possession of the Japanese residents, who would not part with them. This declaration the Commodore was inclined to believe to be, like most of their very positive assertions, false, and he therefore urged upon them a compliance with his request, and left with them a certain number of American coins, of about fifty dollars in value. The Commodore, at the same time, stated that he should expect to receive a number of Japanese or Lew Chew coins in exchange before his departure. The subject was then dropped, but just on the eve of the squadron's sailing, a formal communication was received from the authorities in the name of Shang Hyung Hun, superintendent of affairs in the Middle Hill prefecture, in the kingdom of Lew Chew, high minister, and Mr-Liang tsai, treasurer, in which document it was stated, that on several occasions demands had been made for an exchange of Japan coins for American, but that it was impossible to comply.

The reasons given were that all the commercial transactions between Lew Chew and Japan were carried on by the interchange of commodities, and not by the use of coin. That all the gold and silver used by the Lew Chewans themselves for their hair pins were obtained from China. That although every effort had been made to obtain Japanese coins by careful investigations among those in Lew Chew engaged in trade with Japan, it had been in vain, as the Japanese strictly forbade by law the exportation of their money, and that none could accordingly be brought into the island. With this document the authorities returned the American coin that had been deposited with them, but as the Commodore refused to receive it, it was left in their possession.

At the end of the regent's banquet each of the guests was presented, on leaving the hall, with a red card, which was understood to entitle the holder, at Napha, to refreshments and other privileges. This was a curious practice, the object of which seemed to extend the entertainment, and was a very creditable picture of Lew Chewan hospitality, as it appeared to give it an indefinite duration.

Exploring parties had been early dispatched to make further investigations of the condition and resources of the island. These investigations were directed chiefly to the examination of the geological formation, the nature of the soil, and the mineralogical and agricultural resources of Lew Chew. The officers selected for the various duties were Chaplain Jones and several of the surgeons, whose studies and tastes were supposed to fit them especially for making those observations, which had more or less a scientific bearing.

The chaplain concentrated his investigations upon the resources of the island in regard to coal, and the result seemed to prove the interesting and important fact of the existence, at Shah bay, of that combustible, a supply of which might be readily obtained by proper mining. The natives do not seem conscious of the presence of this valuable mineral in their island, they remain, probably, totally unacquainted with its uses.

In the geological features of the island of Lew Chew, the first peculiarity that strikes the eye are the great masses of coral rock abounding everywhere, even on the tops of the highest mountains, four or five hundred feet above the level of the sea. The steep promontories along the coast are generally composed of gneiss, while in the interior some of the loftier eminences show strata of slate. The base of the island is of the two combined, upon which the coral zoophyte has built its structures, which by some internal convulsion have been upheaved to their present height. The soil on the surface is composed of the detritus of coral and decomposed vegetable and animal remains. As the streams are free of lime, it is conjectured that their springs take their origin from, and their currents flow through, those strata which are below the coral formation.

The soil varies in accordance with the face of the country, being rich and fertile in the valleys and plains, and comparatively poor upon the mountain tops and their acclivities. The climate is generally favorable to culture, though droughts are said occasionally to occur, and the island must suffer from the typhoons, being in the direct range of their ordinary occurrence. The climate is undoubtedly highly favorable also to health, as may be inferred, not only from the condition of the inhabitants but the topographical characteristics of the island. The entire absence of marshes, together with the pure air constantly wafted over the land in the breezes from the surrounding sea, must exempt it from all miasmatic disease. Although situated near the tropics, the heat is so tempered by the sea winds and the elevation of the land, that it is never excessive.

All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil. The system of cultivation is rude and primitive, being performed by the hands of men and women, with the occasional aid, however, of the horse and bull. A rude kind of plough, chiefly made of wood but tipped with an iron point, and of the old Roman model, is used. They have harrows, hoes, sickles, and axes, but all of simple and awkward construction. They have but small supplies of iron and evidently employ it with a very strict regard to economy.

As rice is one of the chief products of Lew Chew and requires abundant supplies of water, a very extensive system of irrigation is carried on. The ground is arranged in a series of terraces, which succeed each other, from the acclivities of the hills down to the bottoms of the valleys, and the water of the neighboring streams is directed into them from the sides by means of ditches and conduits. There are no dams, properly so called, but the irrigation is so graduated, and by means of the terrace-like arrangement of the land that the supply of water is gradual, and

never in such excess as to produce any of the ill effects of flooding or surface washing. The land, generally, is divided into small allotments appropriated to single individuals, so that the surface of the country has rather the appearance of being divided into highly cultivated gardens than overspread with fertile fields. In preparing the land for the cultivation of rice it is first overflowed, and then the laborer, who goes to work knee deep into the mud and water, hoes it into furrows. The plough is used subsequently for further loosening the soil, and is followed by the application of the harrow. All this process is carried on while the land is overflowed, and although this is considered by our agriculturists as the very worst kind of farming, it seems very well adapted to Lew Chewan husbandry with its inferior implements. The rice is not sown broad-cast over the fields, but first grown in plots and then transplanted by hand. The water was observed always covering the fields, but it was not ascertained whether it was ever drawn off, probably, however, not until the harvest, which takes place before the rice is "dead ripe." When this occurs the plants are cut, gathered into bundles, and then spread out to dry in the air and sun. The product gives something like twenty bushels to the acre, and the head of the grain is remarkably large and full, in consequence, probably, of the mode of growth by transplantation. The rice fields probably yield two crops annually, with an alternation of a supply of taro or sweet potatoes, both of which are extensively cultivated. Sugar cane, wheat, cotton, barley in small quantities, tobacco, several varieties of millet, sago, beans, peanuts, turnips, peas, radishes of very large size, some being three feet in length and twelve inches in circumference, egg plants, onions, and cucumbers, are all found growing in the island. Of fruits there are the peach, the water melon, the banana, the wild raspberry, and the fig. Grass is not cultivated, but some wild and coarse varieties are occasionally seen. It might be supposed by the casual observer, from the beautiful aspect presented by the rich growth of the island, that the variety of the vegetable kingdom is very great. Close investigation, however, proves the reverse, for there is a remarkable sameness pervading nearly the whole country from north to south. The flora in some respects presents a tropical appearance, but not so much so as might be expected from the position of the island as compared with some others having a higher latitude. The trees that are most abundant, are the pine and the banyan, (*Ficus indica*) but as these are found growing in regular lines along the highways, forming beautiful avenues, leading to the towns and villages, it is reasonable to suppose that they have been planted. The banyan is particularly abundant and is much used for hedges, being planted on the tops of the coral walls which surround the houses, and pruned and cut into symmetrical forms. The vegetable ivory tree, the ebony, the mulberry, several varieties of the palm, the orange, the lemon, and the banana, are all found, but many of them are evidently not indigenous. Of flowers there is the camellia, which grows wild and bears a beautiful pink blossom, the dahlia, the morning glory, the marsh mallow, the hibiscus, and some few others.

The bamboo, which grows abundantly, is of the greatest use to the inhabitants, supplying them with food, with material for clothing and for building, and, when in its natural state, the luxuriance of growth, with a beautiful shade for their houses and villages. The ferns are exceedingly fine upon the island, and some of them are of the large and spreading tree variety. The agriculture of the island, though of the simplest character, as we have seen, yet seems to answer its purpose admirably. Of the five hundred thousand acres, embraced by the whole area of Great Lew Chew, one-eighth at least is under cultivation, producing, it is supposed, about two hundred thousand bushels of rice, fifty thousand bushels of wheat, with the additional product of thirty-

five thousand acres of sweet potatoes, two thousand acres of sugar cane, and a considerable number of acres of beans, taro, and other kinds of grain and vegetables. The implements of labor, as has been observed, are rude in construction, but are handled with great skill and effect. The agricultural machinery is simple in principle but generally effective. The sugar mills consist of three cylinders of hard wood, supported in an upright position by means of a wooden frame. The cylinders are about a foot in diameter, and are arranged in a row, with a mortice between them to regulate the approach and their pressure upon the cane. The central one has a wooden axle or shaft extending through the frame which supports it, to which is attached a curved lever of fifteen feet in length, by which the mill is readily worked. This central cylinder has a row of coarses of hard wood near its upper end, which play into mortices cut into each of the two other cylinders. A single bull or horse is generally used to work the mill, and the animal moves in a circuit of about thirty feet in diameter. The cane is placed first between the central and right cylinders, and before its escape it is caught by the hand of the workman and, being twisted like a rope, is thrust in between the central and left cylinders, by which it is completely crushed and



FIGURE 1. A SUGAR MILL.

its juice expressed, which it will rough mill and then pressed. The juice is then converted into sugar by boiling it in large kettles. The sugar is then put into iron cans containing about eight or ten pounds. What is left of the juice is then pressed out to understand, as the common language, what is a sugar cane.

It probably is kept as a delicacy for the palates of the higher classes, who delight in sweet meats and other confections of sugar, or sent as an export or tribute to Japan. In spite of an abundant product, sugar is evidently a scarce article among the common people, for one of the interpreters begged some from the Americans, as if he esteemed it a rare luxury. The refuse cane, after being pressed, (bagrass, as we call it,) is carefully dried and used as fuel. The Lew Chewans have also mills for the grinding of grain. These are made of excellent millstones, and are worked by hand. The flour, however, remains unbolted, but makes a good and sweet bread. The granaries are mud objects in every village throughout the island. They are generally constructed of either woven cane or wood, and in a square form, increasing in width from their base, which is supported upon posts placed upon stones, to their tops, which is covered with a rice straw thatch. They have the advantage of being well ventilated and protected from vermin, of which, especially of rats, there is a great abundance. These granaries often contain as much as five hundred bushels, and as they are grouped together in numbers, amounting sometimes to nearly a score, they are supposed to be the property of the government.*

The population of Great Lew Chew must amount to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred thousand, since there are two large cities, those of Napha and Shui, and some thirty six towns beside, with an average of about six thousand people each. The island seems to be peopled by two distinct races, the Japanese and the Lew Chewan, properly so called. They both have originally sprung, however, from the same stock. It has been supposed by some that the Lew Chew people are chiefly allied to the Tagallas, a race which is spread over the Philippine, Marian, and other Pacific islands, and which originally sprang from the Malays. There is, however, no affinity between the Lew Chew, Malay, and Tagalla languages, nor are the relations of their physical peculiarities such as to favor the opinion of a common origin. From the discovery, during the exploration of the island, of some remains of ancient Hindoo worship, it was surmised that the Lew Chewans might possibly have been originally a colony from southern Asia. Whether these remains are the relics of a people living in Lew Chew previous to the present races, or only the vestiges of a religion once held by one of the present existing races, but now supplanted by the wide-spreading Buddhism, it is not easy to decide. Dr Fahs, however, (to whom, together with his associate, Dr Green, we are indebted for the principal facts of this chapter) inclines to the belief that the Hindoo idolatry was introduced directly by means of priests coming from India as missionaries, or through the medium of the commercial intercourse which has, in all ages, existed between eastern nations.

The Japanese and the Lew Chewans differ slightly from each other, the latter being more effeminate and somewhat less intelligent, but this may be owing to their simple, retired life, upon a remote island, where their wants are few, and nature is generous. They have, however, such strong resemblances that it is almost impossible to resist the conviction of their sameness of origin. They have both the same height, and very similar features. In both, the head is oval, approaching in form that of the European, the frontal bones rounded, and the forehead high, the face oval, and the general expression mild and amiable, the eyes large and animated, though more so in the Japanese than in the Lew Chewans, the irides in both are dark brown or black, the lashes long, and the eyebrows rather heavy and arched.

The long angular form of the internal canthus of the eye is seldom seen, either in the Japanese or

* A detailed and highly interesting report on Lew Chew agriculture prepared by the fleet surgeon, Dr Green, will be found in Appendix A, volume I.

grows very luxuriantly. The hair is ordinarily of a deep black, and is allowed to grow in long locks behind and at the sides of the head, while the middle of the pate is shaved clean. The hair being well oiled and gathered up from the sides and back, is formed into a large knot and affixed to the bald place in the head with pins either of gold, silver, or brass, according to the rank of the wearer.

The Low Chewan male has generally a well proportioned figure, with broad and largely developed chest, narrow hips, and a slim waist and neck. A deformed person is a very rare sight in Low Chew. The costume is neat, graceful, and suitable to the climate, and its flowing outline is particularly becoming to the aged, who, with their long white beards, have quite a patriarchal look. The dress is a loose robe, with very wide sleeves, which falls nearly to the ankles, and is gathered in at the waist with a girdle of silk or grass cloth, to which is attached the invariable pouch containing the pipe and a supply of tobacco. The cap worn by the higher classes, and called in the Low Chew tongue a *hachee maclee*, is of cylindrical form, and seems to be made of two bands crossing each other in a figure of eight form. The laboring people go invariably barefooted, but the better classes wear a white stocking, to which, when they go out, a straw sandal is added. A band from the front passes between the great and next toe, as is seen in the ancient statues. The peasants in the country go bareheaded as well as barefooted, and are scantily clothed in a coarse cotton shirt, or with a mere cloth about the loins.

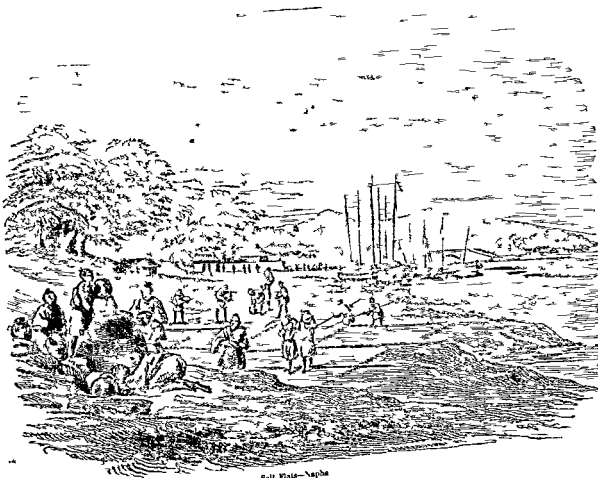
The women are kept so secluded, particularly those of the higher rank, that it is difficult for a stranger to obtain a sufficient opportunity to investigate their peculiarities very thoroughly. They are generally short of stature, and by no means handsome, having a great squareness of face, and more depressed noses than the men. Some of the ladies of distinction, the exclusive few, are described as being tolerably good looking, and of fair complexion. The women wear a robe very much like that worn by the men, though without the girdle, while their hair, none of which is shaved, is dressed in the same style, except that the top knot is rather more in front, and somewhat to the side of the head. Woman is by no means as high in the social scale in Low Chew as she should be, being regarded as a mere slave or chattel, and always slighted by the men, who seem hardly to notice her, either in the houses or in the streets, although the females in their deportment toward strangers show apparently much modesty and amiability.

The Low Chewans are a remarkably courteous people in their ordinary intercourse with each other, and in their occasional relations with foreigners. Their usual form of obeisance is prostrately polite, they clasp their hands with a spasmodic earnestness of courtesy, and pressing them to their forehead, bow so low that it is a marvel how they preserve their centre of gravity. The ordinary bending of the body, which seems to be to the utmost extent of suppleness of back, is still further extended on coming into the presence of those of very high rank, when the polite but inferior Low Chewan bows so low as literally to touch if not to fall upon the ground.

The people of Low Chew are naturally among the most intelligent of the eastern nations, but they are kept in general ignorance by their rulers. The higher classes are well instructed in the learning of China, while the literati and professional men, and especially the physicians, are not to finish their education. The literature, whatever they may possess, is derived from the Chinese and Japanese.

The occupation of the Low Chewans is chiefly agricultural, although they have some little

commerce with China and Japan, to which they send annually a few junks, which carry such articles of clothing and provisions as can be spared, and bring back in exchange the productions of those countries. They have apparently no currency of their own, but in spite of their protestations to the contrary, they are evidently familiar with money, particularly with the Chinese copper coin termed *cash*. Their manufactures are few, and consist of sugar of a coarse kind, salt of inferior quality, large vats for making which are found extending along the bay of Napha, *Sal'ce*, a spirit distilled from rice, cotton and grass cloth of rude texture, an inferior style of lacquered ware, pottery, hair pins, junks, agricultural tools, and a limited variety of other articles needed for their own simple life.



Salt Vats—Napha

In the higher arts, the Lew Chewans have not made much progress, although there are specimens among them of rude paintings and sculpture particularly of the latter, in the coarse figures of their idols, with which they adorn their tombs and temples. In their architecture there is more evidence of advance than in the other branches of the fine arts. The ruins of the castles in the northern and southern parts of the island and the structure of the palace of Shui with the various bridges, viaducts and roads throughout the country, show considerable architectural skill. In the arches and massive masonry of the fortresses, and walls of stone, there are marks, not only of artistic design but of skilful workmanship. Their town houses are all



MARKET PLACE AT N'PHA

constructed of wood, roofed with earthen tiles, surrounded with verandahs of bamboo, and enclosed within high walls of coral. The cottages in the country are generally thatched with rice straw, and surrounded by either stone walls or bamboo picket fences, within which there is not only the house, but the usual farmer's concomitants of stable, pig pen, and poultry hutch. The furniture is of the simplest kind, consisting of thick mats spread upon the plank floor, upon which the natives sit cross legged, a few stools, a table, and a teapot with a supply of cups. The food of the people is simple, being mostly rice and sweet potatoes. Animal food is but rarely used by the lowest classes, and consists, when enjoyed, chiefly of pork. The higher ranks have a more elaborate cookery, and succeed in spreading occasional banquets, which were found quite appetising. A great variety of soups, with various sweetened confections, and vegetable concoctions of different kinds, are the chief elements of the *recherche* Lew Chewan cuisine of the best tables.

The Lew Chewans are a hard working people, and enjoy but little relaxation from labor. They have certain festivals, but of not frequent recurrence, for the celebration of religious and national holidays. Of their amusements little could be observed, although it was inferred from the existence of large level spaces, handsomely bordered with spreading pines, in the neighborhood of the towns and villages, apparently adapted for racing, wrestling and other athletic sports, that the Lew Chewans occasionally indulged in such exercises and amusements. In the markets there are frequently found for sale certain large balls, adorned with bright colored threads, supposed to be used in a game like that of our football.

Captain Basil Hall, in his interesting but not very authentic account of the Lew Chewans, states that they were unacquainted with war, and in relating, during an interview with Napoleon, at St. Helena, his experiences of travel, startled that great soldier with this unique characteristic of the Lew Chewans, which drew from him, as he shrugged his shoulders, the remark, "No wars, it is impossible!" Hall's statement would seem to be confirmed by the apparent absence of all arms or ammunition, or even of the rudest weapons of attack and defence, such as bows and arrows. The ruins of fortresses and the walled defences of Shui, however, seem to indicate that the island has not always enjoyed this blessed condition of peace, and the Japanese histories record the fact of ancient intestine and foreign wars.*

The government of Lew Chew seems to be an absolute despotism, with a system of administration like that of Japan, to which the island is tributary. The present king is said to be a youth of some eleven years of age, under the immediate personal guardianship of a queen mother, while his government, during the minority, is delegated to a regency, composed of a regent and three chief officers, entitled *pe chungs* or treasurers. As the policy of the government is to keep all foreigners in an absolute ignorance of its character, and as every kind of deception is resorted to for the purpose, it is difficult to acquire a full knowledge of its nature. The very existence of a young king is doubted, since from the time of the visit of Basil Hall, nearly forty years ago, to that of Commodore Perry, the same story has been told about the

* Our well known and deservedly distinguished countryman, Doctor John W. Francis of New York, knew Captain Basil Hall personally while he was in the United States, and has furnished the coadjutor with the following memorandum: "On the occasion of an assemblage of literary gentlemen at some entertainment given to Captain Hall, inquiries were put by several of the gentle men as to the literal accuracy of various circumstances related by the Captain in his book on Lew Chew. They wished to know whether they were to understand his statements literally. In my hearing he made this general remark, by way of answer to all these interrogatories: 'If I were to row to the book, I should make of it a different story.'"

minority of the ruling prince, and unless he is endowed with perpetual childhood, or there has been a succession of juvenile kings, it is difficult to reconcile the experiences of the various travellers who have visited Low Chew in the long intervals of scores of years. The *literati*, as in China and Japan, compose the higher and ruling classes, and, as in these countries, are prepared for official position by a diligent study of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. In fact, the young men belonging to families of rank are ordinarily sent to China to complete their education, and fit them for their positions as officers of the government. The exclusive policy of Japan is that also of Low Chew, and was rigidly adhered to until dissolved by the intercourse of the Americans under Commodore Perry. The system of espionage pervades the whole government from the administration of the highest to the lowest official. Most of the higher classes seem to have little else to do than to watch every word and movement of the people, and form a large body of indolent non producers, who live idly upon the hard-asked laborers of the lower classes, who are treated with all the rigor of social servitude. The country is supposed to have been conquered, centuries ago, by a Japanese prince of Satsuma, to the successor of whom it is believed to be tributary, although there are some relations not well understood with China.

The religion of Low Chew is, as we have before stated, the generally prevalent Buddhism of the east, with a mixture of various idolatries peculiar to the island; there are, however, not many temples in Low Chew, and those which exist do not attract a very large or a very devoted class of worshippers. As in China and Japan, a general skepticism or religious indifference seems to exist, particularly among the *literati*, or higher classes. The Bonzes, or priests, however, are treated with greater reverence in Low Chew than in most oriental countries, though they have the same forlorn look, and go about, with their shaven crowns and fusty garments, like similar miserable mendicants in China.

Great reverence is paid to the dead in Low Chew, where they are put in coffins in a sitting posture, and, being followed by the friends and relations and a procession of women in long white veils which cover their heads and faces, are interred in well built stone vaults, or tombs constructed in the sides of the hills. After the body has been interred for a period of seven years and all the flesh is decayed, the bones are removed and deposited in stone vases, which are placed upon shelves within the vaults. The poor people place the remains of their dead in earthen jars, and deposit them in the crevices of the rocks, where they are often to be seen broken and disarranged. Periodical visits are paid by the surviving friends and relations to the burial places, where they deposit offerings upon the tombs. On the first interment of the rich dead, roast pigs and other articles of food are offered, and after being allowed to remain for a short time, are distributed among the poor.

During the explorations of the island of Low Chew, which were so effectively prosecuted by the Rev Mr Jones, Mr Taylor, Drs Fals, Greene, and others, under the direction of the Commodore, and which resulted in the obtaining of so much new information in regard to a singular people, of whom little has been previously known to the world, there were many specimens obtained of their various fabrics and of their natural productions and particularly of their botany, which have been brought to the United States for the investigation of the scientific and the interest of the curious.

The purposes of the Commodore in regard to the island had been so far effectively carried out. The building for the storing of coal had been completed, the temple appropriated for the

accommodation of the sick and others of the squadron, whose duties made it necessary for them to reside on shore, had been secured, and those supplies obtained which were necessary for the squadron. With an occasional faint demur on the part of the authorities, they continued to accept payment for the various articles needed, and with their growing willingness to sell came an increased demand for higher prices. The friendly intercourse of the Americans with the inhabitants of the island had undoubtedly greatly contributed to their advantage. The most scrupulous regard had been observed toward the rights of the authorities and other classes, and they all were becoming less reserved. It was not an unreasonable inference, from the favorable disposition of the Lew Chewan people toward relations with a higher civilization, and from a seeming sense on their part of the oppressive tyranny of their absolute rulers, that they would rejoice in being placed in a political position that might render them independent of Japanese despotism.

A more demonstrative indication of the friendly feeling of the Lew Chewans for their foreign visitors would have been shown probably had it not been for the numerous Japanese agents and spies who were ever on the watch to notice and report to the imperial government every event that transpired, and to make those who manifested any friendship toward the Americans accountable at some future time.

The Commodore, being detained at Napha in negotiations with the authorities, thought it advisable to dispatch some of the sailing vessels of the squadron to Yedo bay, with the intention of following soon after with his steamers. He expected to arrive, with the advantages of steam in his favor, in Japan at about the same time with those who had preceded him in their departure.

Accordingly, Captain Abbot sailed on the first of February in the *Macedonian*, in company with the *Vandalia*, *Lexington*, and *Southampton*. The Commodore followed on the seventh of February, with the steamers *Susquehanna*, *Powhatan*, and *Mississippi*. The storeship *Supply* had been got ready, and was ordered to sail on the next day after the Commodore's departure for Shanghai, there to take on board a cargo of coal and some live stock, and proceed to join the squadron in Yedo bay.

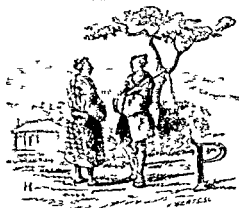
It had been arranged that Dr. Bettleheim, who had been superseded by another English missionary, a Mr. Moreton, should have a passage for himself and family in the *Supply* to Shanghai.



American Grave-yard at Y-mai, Lew Chew.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LETTER FROM DUTCH GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF THE JAPANESE EMPEROR—COMMODORE'S REPLY—ENUMERATION OF THE SEVERAL OBJECTS IN VIEW—PROSPECTS OF THEIR ATTAINMENT BY THE MISSION—OFFICERS AND MEN LEFT IN LEW CHEW—ARRIVAL OF THE SARATOGA—RUN TO YEDO BAY—OHIO-SIMA—CLEOPATRA ISLES—MISAKO SIMA—ALL BELONG TO LEW CHEW GROUP—ENTRANCE OF GULF OR OUTER BAY OF YEDO—JAPANESE CHARTS OF THE LITTLE VALUE, MADE FOR MERE COASTING—WINTRY ASPECT OF JAPAN—MACEDONIAN AGROUND—HACLED OFF BY THE MISSISSIPPI—FRIENDLY OFFERS OF THE JAPANESE TO ASSIST THE MACEDONIAN—SQUADRON PROCEEDS UP THE BAY AND ANCHORS AT THE 'AMERICAN ANCHORAGE'—JAPANESE OFFICIALS COME ALONGSIDE—REQUESTED BY CAPTAIN ADAMS ON THE FOWHAYAN, PURSUANT TO THE COMMODORE'S ORDERS—THEY ATTEMPT TO PREVAIL ON THE COMMODORE TO RETURN TO URAGA, STATING THAT THE HIGH JAPANESE FUNCTIONARIES WERE THERE AWAITING HIS ARRIVAL, BY APPOINTMENT OF THE EMPEROR—COMMODORE DECLINES ON ACCOUNT OF SAFETY OF THE SHIPS—VISIT ON THE NEXT DAY FROM THE OFFICIALS, WHO REITERATE THEIR REQUEST, WITH AN ASSURANCE THAT THE COMMISSIONERS WERE ORDERED TO RECEIVE THE COMMODORE AT URAGA WITH DISTINGUISHED CONSIDERATION—COMMODORE AGAIN DECLINES—JAPANESE ASK THAT AN OFFICER MAY BE SENT TO URAGA TO CONFER WITH THE COMMISSIONERS AS TO A PLACE OF MEETING—COMMODORE CONSENTS THAT CAPTAIN ADAMS MAY HOLD SUCH A CONFERENCE, BUT THAT THE COMMISSIONERS MUST COME THREE TO HOLD IT—JAPANESE BECOME ALARMED AS TO THE FRIENDLY FEELINGS OF THE JAPANESE—OLD BOATS FORBIDDEN BY THE COMMODORE—SCURRY OF THE BAY RESUMED WITHOUT INTERMISSION BY THE JAPANESE—OLD BOATS FORBIDDEN BY THE COMMODORE—TO LAND—JAPANESE PERSIST FOR SEVERAL DAYS IN DESIRING THE COMMODORE TO GO TO URAGA WITH THE SHIPS—COMMODORE INVARIABLY REFUSES—AT LENGTH THE JAPANESE ARE INFORMED THAT THE COMMODORE WILL ALLOW CAPTAIN ADAMS TO MEET A COMMISSIONER ON SHORE NEAR THE SHIPS, OR THAT HE WILL PROCEED UP THE BAY TO YEDO—NOTE FROM THE COMMISSIONERS TO THE COMMODORE—HIS REPLY—CAPTAIN ADAMS SENT DOWN TO URAGA—SOME OF THE JAPANESE ACCOMPANY HIM IN THE VANDALIA—INTERVIEW OF CAPTAIN ADAMS WITH THE COMMISSIONERS AT URAGA—VISIT TO CAPTAIN ADAMS FROM TEIJSIMAN ON BOARD THE VANDALIA—ASSURES CAPTAIN ADAMS OF THE FRIENDLY INTENTION OF THE EMPEROR—VANDALIA REVEALS, AND PERCEIVES AHEAD THE SQUADRON STANDING UP THE BAY TOWARD YEDO—THE JAPANESE NO LONGER URGE GOING TO URAGA, BUT SUDDENLY PROPOSE YOKU HANBO, WHERE THE SHIPS THEN WERE, ABOUT EIGHT MILES FROM YEDO—COMMODORE IMMEDIATELY ASSENTS—BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED AT YOKU HANBO—A JAPANESE ISLAMAN IN THE SQUADRON SENDS A LETTER TO HIS FAMILY ABROAD, BY TEIJSIMAN—TEIJSIMAN DENIES AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM—THE INTERVIEW—CEREMONIALS SETTLED AS TO THE CONFERENCE ON SHORE FOR NEGOTIATION



REFUSAL TO LEAVING NAPI, COMMODORE PERRY HAD RECEIVED A COMMUNICATION FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF DUTCH INDIA, CONVEYING INFORMATION OF THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, SOON AFTER THE RECEIPT OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER. THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT (SO SAID THE COMMUNICATION) HAD REQUESTED THE DUTCH SUPERINTENDENT TO COMMUNICATE THE FACT TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, AS THIS EVENT, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF JAPAN, MADE CERTAIN CEREMONIES OF MOURNING AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCCESSION TO THE THRONE NECESSARY AND THE CONSEQUENT PRESENTMENT OF ALL CONSULATIONS OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER FOR THE PRESENT. THE JAPANESE AUTHORITIES ACCORDINGLY HAD, AS WAS STATED BY

the governor general, repeatedly requested the superintendent of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki

to express the wish of the government of Japan that the American squadron would not return to the Bay of Yedo at the time fixed by Commodore Perry, lest his presence might create confusion. The Commodore answered the communication of the governor general of Dutch India with the usual formal expression of regret at the event of the Emperor's death, and added that he hoped the present rulers of Japan were so well satisfied of the intentions of the President of the United States, as stated in his letter, that they would not be disposed to throw any serious obstacles in the way of accomplishing friendly relations between the American nation and the Japanese.*

The Commodore had previously heard, through the officers of the Russian squadron, of the reported death of the Emperor of Japan, and that similar reasons to those set forth in the communication of the Dutch governor general had been assigned to the Russian admiral for not

* [Translation]

BUXTENZORG, December 23, 1853

Mr Commodore The Dutch ship "Hendriks," master Admiral, which sailed for Japan in July last, has returned to Batavia on the 15th instant

She brings intelligence from the superintendent of our factory there, up to November 15, 1853, and information of the death of the Emperor of Japan, soon after receiving the letter of the President of the United States

The Japanese government has requested the Dutch superintendent to communicate to the American government. That this event, according to Japanese laws and customs, makes necessary the performance of many and continuing ceremonies of mourning, and extensive arrangements with respect to the succession to the throne, that during the period of mourning no business of any importance can be transacted, that the letter of the President of the United States can only be taken into deliberation when the time of mourning is over, that previous thereto, the opinions upon the subject have to be obtained from all the governors (lords) in Japan, that for that purpose the governors have to repair to Yedo in succession, (one after the other) that all that will take much time

The Japanese authorities have repeatedly requested the superintendent of our factory that he would inform the American government of the wish of the Japanese government not to let the American squadron return to Japan at the time fixed upon by your excellency, for fear that under the circumstances created by the decease of the Emperor, and from the several and unavoidable conferences with the Japanese authorities, and of those authorities among themselves, the American squadron might create broil, (confusion,) as the Japanese authorities express themselves

I believe it not necessary to go beyond informing your excellency of this wish of the Japanese government, to be filed with my letter of September 22, 1852, (No 134)

With great respect, I have the honor to be, your excellency's obedient servant,

DUYMAER VAN TWIST,
Governor General of Netherlands, India

By order of his excellency the governor general

His Excellency Commodore PERRY,
Commandant of the United States squadron, destined for Japan

A PRINS, Chief Secretary

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE SQUAKEHANNA,

Nagasaki, Low Cheu, January 23, 1854

Sir I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter of your excellency of the 23d ultimo, informing me of a communication on you had received from the superintendent of the factory at Desima, announcing the death of the Emperor of Japan, and detailing the consequences that would result from this event in retarding the progress of the mission with which I have been charged

Allow me to thank your excellency for the trouble you have taken in conveying to me this sad intelligence. I trust, however, that the present rulers of Japan have become so well satisfied of the intentions of the President in suggesting the propositions which I have had the honor of presenting, that they will not be disposed to throw any serious obstacles in the way of a friendly understanding between the two nations

With great respect, I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY.

His Excellency DUUMAER VAN TWIST,
Governor General of the Netherlands, India

Commander-in-chief United States naval forces, East Indies, China, and Japan Seas

Chew, he had, therefore, detached from the squadron two master's mates and about fifteen men to look after the United States government property and other interests during his absence.

These were merely measures of precaution, which seemed justified by the wily policy of the Japanese, which forbade any confident reliance upon its justice, and by the probability of the Russians, French, or English, in their eagerness to anticipate the Americans, stepping in before them in seizing a dependency like Lew Chew, which might so greatly further their purposes in regard to Japan. It was not proposed by the Commodore to take Lew Chew, or claim it as a territory conquered by, and belonging to, the United States, nor to molest or interfere in any way with the authorities or people of the island, or to use any force, except in self defence. In fact, there was not likely to be any occasion for violence, as the Americans already possessed all necessary influence in Lew Chew, which had been acquired by kindness and non interference with the laws and customs of the island.

The arrival of the *Saratoga* from Shanghai had been expected for some days previous to the Commodore's departure from Napha, and, as she had not arrived before his setting out, it was thought probable that the squadron would fall in with her outside the harbor. Accordingly, the steamers' course was directed to the westward of Lew Chew, in view of intercepting the track of the *Saratoga*, and it so happened that the steamers had scarcely cleared the harbor when a sail was discovered standing to windward of the island, which, on approaching nearer, was ascertained, by signal, to be the long look-out ship. Captain Walker, who was in command of the *Saratoga*, soon came on board the *Susquehanna*, and received orders to proceed direct to the American anchorage in Yeddo bay. Upon his return to his ship after sending some live stock brought from Shanghai for the squadron, and three packages containing presents for the Japanese authorities, he bore away with the intention of taking the passage east of Lew Chew.

The passage of the steamers, until the islands lying at the entrance of the great Bay of Yedo were made, was pleasant and by no means protracted. The northern group of the Lew Chew chain, composed of the islands of Oho-sima, or as the Chinese call it Ta-tao, Tok-sima, Batons-sima, and Kiku-sima, were passed in full view. There was an opportunity, which was improved, of establishing with some accuracy the positions of several of the headlands on the western side of Oho-sima and the islets named by Captain Guerin, of the French corvette *Sabine*, Cleopatra islands. In passing these islands, Commodore Perry was reminded of an order he had received from the Secretary of the Navy to investigate, and report upon, a question touching the original discovery of Oho-sima, by Commander Glynn, in February, 1846, being at the time in command of the United States sloop-of-war *Preble*. A diligent investigation was accordingly made, and the results embodied in a communication to the Navy Department. The island represented to have been seen in June, 1849, and described in Commander Glynn's letter to Commodore Jones, dated February 21, 1850, as bearing in a southeasterly direction from the *Preble*, and as a new discovery, is called in the Japanese charts, Oho-sima, and by the Chinese, Ta tao. The islets stated to have been discovered at the same time, and described as bearing north northwest, were examined, in 1846, by Captain Guerin, of the *Sabine*, and named by him "Cleopatra Isles." The latter, as well as others lying contiguous to Oho-sima, were distinctly seen from the decks of the several ships of the squadron, during the present voyage, on February 8, 1854. Sketches of the islands were taken, and their positions established by cross bearings taken from the steamer *Susquehanna*, at noon, after good observations. The results were as follows:

South end of Cleopatra Isles, latitude $28^{\circ}48' N$, longitude $128^{\circ}59' 30'' E$
 North end of Oho-sima, latitude $28^{\circ}22' N$, longitude $129^{\circ}30' E$



BAY OF WODOWARA

A fine picture by Henry J. White

Oho-sima is the principal of what may be called the northern group of the Lew Chew chain, which, in connexion with the Miyako-sima, and other islands commencing with the Cleopatra, extend from near the north end of Formosa to Kiusiu the southwestern extremity of Japan proper. The three groups of Miyako-sima, Great Lew Chew, or Okinawa-sima, and Oho-sima, should be denominated the southern, middle, and northern Lew Chew islands, the central government being established at the city of Shui, in the island of Great Lew Chew. Of the people and government of these islands little is known, but it is presumed that they are all subject to an intermediate sovereignty between Lew Chew and the Empire of Japan, or possibly the Japanese prince of Satsuma. This potentate is stated by Von Siebold to receive about 2,240,000 guilders, or nearly \$300,000, annually, from the Lew Chew islands. Oho-sima is in circumference nearly one hundred and fifty English miles, and bears in its external aspect, with its mountains and richly verdant valleys, a considerable resemblance to Great Lew Chew. It is represented by various writers to be thickly populated, having all the advantages of cities, towns, villages, and commodious ports. It is surprising that it has never hitherto been visited by any Christian voyager.

The Miyako-sima islands have been more than once visited by foreign vessels, and during the progress of the Japan expedition, by the *Saratoga* whose officers described the inhabitants as being in language, manners, customs, and appearance, almost identical with the people of Lew Chew. And it is reasonable to infer that this, in common with the other inhabited islands of the chain, has been peopled for many hundreds of years. The Miyako-sima group was accustomed to be governed by officers appointed by the king and council of Great Lew Chew, who are frequently changed, in conformity with the policy practised throughout Japan and its dependencies.

The Cleopatra islands are only two in number, lying in close proximity to each other, and are small and uninhabited. They are cone-shaped, and evidently of volcanic origin, the craters being clearly visible, the larger one of which has been estimated at 1,600 feet in height. The geographical position of all this chain of islands, extending from Formosa to Japan proper, would seem to be so arranged as to suit the convenience of the commerce of the unskilful Japanese navigators, who sail in their frail open sterned vessels from island to island, always being careful to have a port under their lee, into which to escape on the least approach of foul weather.

On entering, upon the 11th of February, the outer Bay of Yedo, or as it may be more suitably termed, the Gulf of Yedo, including the space embraced between Cape Nagatsuro on the west Cape Serafama or Cape King on the east, and Wodawara, Kamakura, and Cape Sagami on the north, the steamers encountered a severe blow from the northward and eastward. They were kept, however, during the night, under the lee of Oho-sima, (i. e. Great Island,) and thus avoided the greatest violence of the gale. On the previous afternoon a cluster of three dangerous rocks showing above the surface of the sea from ten to twenty feet, were passed quite near. These were supposed to be what are called on the charts the Broughton Rocks, and if they were, their position is evidently very erroneously laid down, and if they were not, they have escaped the observation of previous European and American navigators. That these rocks should have been hitherto unnoticed would not be at all remarkable, for few ships have ever visited the southern and eastern coasts of Japan and it is not reasonable to expect that the very imperfect charts which have been compiled from the meagre information furnished by Broughton,

Gore, King, Krusenstern, and the three or four American and English vessels which have visited the coast within a few years back, should be in any manner correct.

It is true that the Japanese have constructed charts, but they are on a plan peculiar to themselves, and of little benefit to the bold navigators, with their large vessels, of Europe and America. The Japanese charts, without meridian or scale, and totally destitute of any record of soundings, are hardly of any use, except in their own timid navigation. The Japanese never venture, if they can possibly avoid it, beyond sight of land, and always seize upon favorable seasons, weather, and winds, for making their longest runs. Their junks skirt the coasts, by touching the land here and there, and going from island to island, and seldom make a run of a longer duration than twenty-four hours. The largest Japanese junks seen did not draw more than eight feet of water, and, as has just been remarked, they run from port to port, invariably seeking shelter on occasions of adverse winds or appearances of bad weather. The pilots, familiar with every rock upon the coast, need no charts, and conduct their vessels, in accordance with their cautious navigation, with general safety. Every harbor, however small, is furnished with conveniences for securing the Japanese craft, holes being artificially made through the angles of the rocks for passing the cables, and where this is not practicable, upright pillars or posts are hewn or morticed in the stone, and all chafings of the moorings provided against by a careful rounding and smoothing of the neighboring projections or detached parts.

On the morning of the 12th of February the weather became more settled, and the steamers stood up the bay. The outlines of the land were recognized from the familiarity of the previous visit, but a change had come over the face of the landscape, in consequence of the difference of season. The lofty summit of Fusi-Yama was distinctly visible as before, but was now completely clothed in its winter garb of snow. The rich verdure of the surrounding land had lost its cheerful summer aspect, and looked withered, black and sombre. The rising uplands were no longer peeping in their beds of green, shaded from a summer's sun beneath spreading groves, but were bare and desolate, while the distant mountains stood chill in their snowy drapery and frowned upon the landscape. The weather was cold and blustering. As the steamers approached the land, two vessels were observed close in and apparently at anchor. On approaching them it was discovered that they were the Macedonian and Vandalia. The latter had a signal displayed announcing that the Macedonian was aground. It was soon ascertained that Captain Abbott, on the day previous, had mistaken the indentation in the coast within which his ship was aground for the entrance to the passage to Uraga and Yedo. He had, accordingly, on venturing too near the shore, grounded his vessel on a ledge of rocks, not, of course, laid down upon the imperial chart which he had, said chart being nothing more than a copy of one of Von Siebold's maps, which had been copied from the Japanese authorities, with a few notes upon it, made during the first visit of the squadron to the Bay of Yedo. Captain Abbott, finding his ship in this dilemma, adopted the usual means of getting her afloat by starting the water, making her guns ready for throwing overboard, and actually throwing over the side many miscellaneous articles. Commander Pope of the Vandalia, at that time in company, immediately anchored and sent his boats to the assistance of his consort the Macedonian.

The fortunate arrival of Commodore Perry with his three steamers at once gave assurance of effectual aid. Commander Leo of the Mississippi was accordingly ordered to approach with his steamer as near as he could safely venture to the ship on shore, and run a couple of hawsers to her with the view of hauling her off by the power of steam. This duty he executed with his

usual promptitude and judgment,¹ and before night the Macedonian was towed into a safe anchorage. Meanwhile the other vessels were brought to anchor for the night, having been joined on the same afternoon by the Lexington, which, it will be recollected, sailed from Napha in company with the Macedonian and Vandalia. In the course of the night a boat came alongside the Commodore's flag-ship, having been dispatched by Lieutenant Commanding Boyle of the Southampton, which vessel, another of Captain Abbott's division, had arrived the day before at the American anchorage in the Bay of Yedo.

Lieutenant Boyle had received information from the Japanese authorities that two ships had arrived off Kama-kura, and that one of them was ashore, and very promptly and properly dispatched the launch of the Southampton, with two officers and a suitable crew, to render all practicable assistance.

The friendly disposition of the Japanese toward the Americans was handsomely illustrated by their offers of assistance as soon as the Macedonian was observed ashore. Such, too, was their courteous and scrupulous regard for the interests and property of their visitors, that they actually took the trouble of sending to the squadron, then at a distance of twenty miles, a hog-head of bituminous coal, which had been thrown overboard on lightening the ship, and subsequently washed ashore.

Next morning (February 13) after the Macedonian had been relieved from her hazardous position, in the light of Kawatsu, near Kama-kura, the whole squadron moved up the Bay of Yedo, sailing in a line ahead, the Lexington, Vandalia, and Macedonian being in tow respectively of the Susquehanna, Powhatan, and Mississippi. With the experience of navigation acquired during the previous visit, there was no occasion for the ships to feel their way, but they passed along the magnificent bay with confidence, bringing into view at each turn various points of the land on either side, which had now the aspect of familiar ground.

The precipitous coasts of Sagami rose bleakly in the winter atmosphere on the left, while far inland could be seen the lofty ranges of the mountains covered with snow, and the high peak of Fusi-Yama, about the lofty summit of which the clouds were scudding in reckless succession. There was the distant coast of Awa, some twelve miles away on the opposite side, and along the shores everywhere were the numberless villages and towns, though snugly reposing under the cover of the high land which rose behind them, yet looking desolate and exposed, in comparison with their former aspect of rural comfort when nestling in the full-leaved groves of summer. Abreast was the town of Gornhama, the scene of the delivery of the President's letter, and in front extended out from the land the promontory of Uraga, with its harmless forts, and as the ships doubled it and came abreast the city, numerous government boats, with their athletic oarsmen sculling vigorously, and their little striped flags fluttering in the wind, pushed off to intercept the squadron, as on the previous visit. The Japanese officials, however, who had risen from their places midships, and seemed to be directing their boats towards the squadron, were warned off, and the strangers moved majestically on, with their train of formidable men-of-war, without altering their course a line, or lingering a moment in their speed until they reached the anchorage, at three o'clock in the afternoon, (February 13) The government boats were left in the distance, but were seen sculling rapidly along and following in the wake of the squadron.

The position in which the three steamers and the four ships, including the Southampton, which had preceded the squadron, had anchored was named, in the previous visit, the "American

anchorage " It is within the bight embraced within two ball headlands, about twelve miles distant from each other, on the western side of the Bay of Yedo. The anchorage was about twelve miles beyond the town of Uraga, and about twenty miles from the capital city of Yedo. The island which had been called Perry's, and which presented such a picturesque aspect during the summer with its pleasant groves, was seen as the squadron passed up, and the fort which covered its summit could be more distinctly traced through the trees, which had been stripped of their foliage by the frost and winds of winter.

The villages of Otsu and Torigasaki, no longer embowered in green growth, stood out from the land a mile or so distant, in all the sharpness of outline and staring surface of their peaked and boarded houses. The anchorage, though protected by the bounding headlands and the curved shore, had less of that sheltered look which it had previously presented.

The squadron had hardly come to anchor when two of the government boats, which had followed rapidly in the wake of the ships, came alongside the *Susquehanna*. The Japanese officials requested to be admitted on board, but as the Commodore had caused the extra or captain's cabin to be removed from the steamer *Susquehanna* to the *Powhatan*, in view of changing his flag to that ship preparatory to the return of the former to China, and as in accordance with the system of exclusiveness which it was thought politic still to continue, the Commodore could not admit them, as they were of subordinate authority, into his own cabin, he directed Captain Adams to receive the officials on board the *Powhatan*.

Captain Adams, having been charged by the Commodore with precise and special instructions to hear all the Japanese had to say, but to give them no unnecessary information, nor to promise anything, proceeded to the steamer *Powhatan*, accompanied by the interpreters, Messrs. Williams and Portman, and the Commodore's secretary, Mr. Perry.

courteous and friendly manner, and after the business was over, the Japanese partook of *sotou* refreshments and entered cheerfully into a general conversation.

The Japanese now took their leave, and although they had been impressed with the resolute bearing of the Americans, departed with their usual good humor and polite expressions of friendly feeling.

The next day the Japanese officials came off again to the Powhatan, and were received as before by Captain Adams, under instructions from the Commodore.

The Japanese reiterated their assurances of the friendly disposition of the Emperor, who had given orders, as they said, that the Americans should be treated with the greatest consideration. The commissioners, they declared, would be ready to receive the Commodore in a few days, and upon being asked in what place, they answered at Kama Kura. As Uraga had been specified on the previous day, Captain Adams, with some surprise, demanded how it was that the place had become so suddenly changed. The Japanese, with their usual imperturbable manner, which is schooled to cunning and deceit, promptly answered, without the least mark of emotion or evidence of discomposure, that the Emperor had named both places, so that if the Commodore should not be satisfied with the one, he might purchase with the other.

Kama Kura is a town situated in the outer Bay of Yedo, about twenty miles below Uraga, at the place where the Macedonian had grounded. As the Commodore had had an opportunity when anchored off Kama Kura, while engaged in the extrication of the Macedonian from her perilous position, of seeing enough of that place to satisfy him that it would be absurd to take the ships there, and as he suspected some artful design on the part of the Japanese, when informed that Kama Kura had been specified, he directed Captain Adams to say that it was altogether unsuitable. Captain Adams then conveyed this information to the Japanese, with the statement that neither Uraga nor Kama Kura were proper places, as they were so distant and so insecure as harbors, and that some other locality must be selected. The Japanese then proposed that Captain Adams should go down to Uraga and confer with the high officer there about the place of meeting, when they were told that it would be necessary to receive the instructions of the Commodore before a reply could be given on that point.

The Commodore's secretary, who was present at the interview, was then dispatched to the Susquehanna. The secretary soon returned with the answer that the Commodore would neither go to Uraga, nor allow any of his officers to do so, but that Captain Adams would be permitted to meet any of the high Japanese dignitaries on the shore, near the anchorage of the squadron, to confer upon the subject of a proper place of meeting, but that it was an essential condition of the Commodore's consent that the place should not be remote from his present position.

The Japanese officials, notwithstanding the very explicit answer, which was duly conveyed in Dutch by Mr. Portman to Tatanoske, (who, as on the first visit, was one of the attendant interpreters), and by him interpreted to his superiors, still pertinaciously clung to their original proposition, and urged the necessity of making Uraga the place of meeting. As they still persisted in their wearisome efforts to carry their point, Captain Adams cut the matter short by telling them to put in writing their objections to holding the interview in the neighborhood of the American anchorage, to which the Japanese assented, on the condition that Captain Adams would answer a written question which they were about to ask. This being granted, Toksuro, the second interpreter, having conferred for a moment with his superiors, wrote down in Dutch the proposed question, which was translated by the American interpreter, Mr. Portman. "As

the President's letter was received at Gorahama, near Uraga, why are you not willing to receive the answer there? Captain Adams answered that he did not know precisely all the Commodore's reasons, but the principal one was that the anchorage was very unsafe.

The Japanese now seemed somewhat troubled, as if they feared that the Americans were disposed to assume a hostile attitude, and asked, with some anxiety, whether the Commodore was actuated by the same friendly feelings as the Japanese government. Captain Adams did all in his power to reassure them, and declared that the Americans were actuated by no other motives than those of friendship, and that their greatest desire was to be in relations of peace and amity with Japan, and that their chief object in refusing their assent to the Japanese propositions was the fear of endangering the lives of the officers and crews and the safety of the ships by resorting to an insecure place. The Japanese reiterated, several times, that a high officer would come to arrange all business with the Commodore, but that he could not arrive for several days. Upon its being proposed that he should come on board the ships, the Japanese declared that that was quite impossible, and then Captain A suggested that, as it was the custom to transact all public business at the metropolis, the Commodore should go to Yedo. The last suggestion was opposed by the very emphatic remark: "You cannot be received at Yedo."

The Japanese now requested that the boats of the squadron should be prohibited from landing or surveying the harbor, and were told that could not be promised, but that the Commodore should be informed of the request. After the usual refreshments—tea, wine, cakes, and segars—of which the Japanese always freely partook, and the ordinary interchange of compliments, they prepared to take their departure, saying, as they left, that it would take some six or seven days before they could bring any decision from the high officer in regard to the place of meeting, but promising the earliest dispatch.

A surveying party had been organized on the second day of the arrival of the squadron, under the command of Lieutenant Maury, and ordered to commence operations, which were effectively carried out. There were no positive interruptions on the part of the Japanese authorities, but they evidently looked upon the proceeding with jealous anxiety, and that the subject was uppermost in their mind is clear, from the constant allusion to it in their various conferences with the American officers. The Commodore, however, fully alive to the importance of thoroughly surveying the bay, not only for the convenience of the immediate purposes of the expedition but for the future interests of the United States, and, we may add, those of the whole civilized world, was resolved to omit no opportunity of obtaining a thorough knowledge of the navigation of the bay, and thus complete the hydrographical reports and charts, which are now among the by no means least valuable results of the expedition. The surveying boats were accordingly kept busy day after day, and the protestations of the Japanese authorities, though courteously listened to, were always met with the assertion of the resolute determination of the Commodore to prosecute what he believed so essential to the full development of the objects of his mission. It was now the fourteenth of February, a day which was recorded in the logs as cold and blustering, but with an atmosphere perfectly clear. The land just off the ship, the promontories to the north and south, and the opposite shore, showed a clear and distinct wintry aspect, and the view could be readily extended for a circuit of many miles, far back to the snowy summits of the mountains, which traced their irregular outlines upon the cold grey sky.

Notwithstanding that the Japanese officials had declared that it would require several days before they could bring any answer to the Commodore's protest against moving his squadron

to Uraga, they came on board the Powhatan early the next morning, (February 15) Commodore Perry had suffered since his arrival from a severe indisposition, of which the Japanese had heard, and they now made their visit to inquire, as they said, after the *Admiral's health. They also stated that they had been instructed to lay off the squadron with their boats, in case the Americans had anything to communicate, or desired any supplies. They made an offer to bring off wood, water, or anything else the ships might require, when they were told that nothing was wanted at present, but perhaps some fish, eggs, and vegetables might be acceptable in a few days, and that they would be received provided payment should be taken for them. The Japanese then replied that their proposed supplies were intended as presents, and that they had no authority to receive money for them. They seemed to be very fearful lest some of the boats should land, but they were assured that they would not be allowed to do so. Captain Adams, in the course of the conversation, alluded to the report of the death of the Emperor, but was not very explicit in his question, as there seemed to be some doubt of its truth. He merely stated that when the squadron had sailed for Japan he had heard that a high dignitary had died, and asked whether it was true. To which the Japanese answered, "Yes, a very high man died lately." Captain A. — "What was his rank?" Japanese official — "He was a prince." It was thus a matter of the greatest difficulty to get at the truth, the Japanese being as indirect and evasive as possible in regard to the simplest matter of fact.

The Japanese dignitaries repeated their official visits day after day, sailing up in their boats from the long distance of Uraga, and consumed the time with offering the most puerile pretexts for coming, and the length of their negotiations. Now they would express the greatest solicitude about the Commodore's health, and showed their courtesy by bringing him presents of bon bons and confectionary, again they would offer provisions and other supplies, at another time they would enter into explanations about the Americans going ashore, and on one occasion they brought with them a dozen or more naval buttons which had been thrown into their boats, and which they returned with the most formal ceremony. They always recurred, however, to the question of the vessels going to Uraga, and never ceased persisting in their pertinacious solicitations that the Commodore would remove his squadron there, notwithstanding the direct and resolute refusal with which they were invariably opposed. On their visit on the 18th of February they announced that the high officer had arrived at Uraga, and that they had been sent to request the Commodore to meet him there. Upon being told that it was impossible for the Commodore to go to Uraga, Captain Adams then handed them the following document from the Commodore:

"UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE POWHATAN,
"American Anchorage, Yedo Bay, February 18, 1854

"The Commodore expects to be received at Yedo, agreeably to the customs of all countries.

"In consideration of the size of our ships, and their great value, he cannot return to the anchorage at Uraga, nor even remain at this place much longer, but will have to go higher up the bay towards Yedo, where the vessels can be more secure.

"If the great man (chief commissioner) will appoint an officer of proper rank to meet Captain Adams on shore, near where the ships are now lying, to determine when and where the interview with the Commodore shall take place, he must let us know by noon of Tuesday next.

* The Japanese officials always spoke of the Commodore as the Admiral, not being acquainted with the former title.

"The Commodore will be happy to place a ship at the disposal of the great man, to bring him up to the place of interview, and take him back again to Uraga, if he wishes it

"When the officer comes to meet Captain Adams, he had better bring a letter to show that he has proper authority, and a person must be sent to conduct Captain Adams to the place of meeting "

The Japanese received the dispatch from the Commodore without any attempt to discuss it, and bore it away with them, with the intention of consulting, doubtless, with others higher in authority. As they rose to depart, they asked if the Commodore had received a letter, through the Dutch at Nagasaki, which had been sent to him the previous year by the government of Japan. Captain Adams, as he had not been authorized to make any revelations on the subject, answered he had no authority to speak on the subject. They then took their departure.

It was on this day (February 18th) that the Commodore transferred his broad pennant to the Powhatan. The surveying boats, as usual, were busily occupied on duty, but had changed their scene of operations further toward Yedo. The Southampton followed in their wake, in order to facilitate the work of the surveyors, who had hitherto lost much time by being obliged to return, after a day's labor, a great distance to the squadron. The surveying party was now, by being immediately followed by a ship, enabled to go on board of her at night, without losing time, which it was necessary to economise, in order fully to complete the extensive observations they had in view.

The next day was Sunday, (February 19th,) but the Japanese officials, notwithstanding, came on board the Powhatan as usual. They were told that it was a day set apart by the Americans as their Sabbath, but that if they had anything to say, they would be listened to, in consideration of the long distance and inclement weather through which they had come. They brought with them a large quantity of vegetables, oranges, fowls, eggs, and various sweetened confections, which they courteously offered as a present to the Commodore, with a kind inquiry after his health. These were received upon their expressing a willingness to receive something in return, and they accordingly were presented with some ship's bread and a box of tea, the Japanese remarked, as they received them, they had given eatables only, and that it was a Japanese custom to receive eatables only in return. Upon being asked whether the Commodore's propositions had been laid before the high officer, the officials replied that they had, and that he desired to confer about the President's letter at Uraga. The Commodore's objections against going to Uraga were again resolutely pressed, but the Japanese merely answered, that that place had been selected by the order of the Emperor. Captain Adams distinctly declared, that if the Commodore did not receive a favorable answer to his request for an interview with the high officer near his present anchorage, by the subsequent Tuesday, (February 21st,) "he would then know what to do. The Japanese official still reiterated that it was the Emperor's order that the interview should be held at Uraga. The next day there was another visit with the usual ceremonies, and a present of oysters for the Commodore.

The Japanese brought with them a short dispatch from the high commissioners, addressed to the Commodore, written in Japanese and Dutch, stating their instructions from the government. The translation is as follows:

"We are compelled by the order of the Emperor to meet the ambassador of the President of the United States of America either at Kama-kura or Uraga.

"In the interim we shall talk about the negotiations of commerce and the influence it must exercise upon the well-being of the Japanese and American nations. It is out of the question now. This is all according to truth."

This document having been laid before the Commodore, he submitted the following answer:

"The Commodore, for the reasons before given, cannot return to Uruga. His instructions are to receive the answer of the Emperor to the President's letter at Yedo."

The Japanese having received and perused the answer attentively, conferred with each other, and then promised that it should be submitted to the high officer. Captain Adams now informed them that it was his intention, under orders, to go down to Uruga the next day to declare in person to the high officer what had just been delivered in writing from the Commodore. The Japanese seemed very anxious to know if he would be accompanied by a very large party, and seemed quite tranquilized when told that there would be a few officers only. They promised that a boat should be in readiness, and all other preparations made for the reception. In the course of a general conversation they were told that the following Wednesday would be the anniversary of Washington's birthday, and that a salute would, in consequence, be fired. They seemed perfectly acquainted with the name of the great father of our country, and expressed a desire to participate in celebrating the occasion, asking to be permitted to come off to see the guns fired. They were, of course, politely invited, and requested to bring their ladies with them, the latter part of the invitation they, however, jeered at as a very amusing but quite an impracticable joke.

On Tuesday, the 21st day of February, the Japanese boat came alongside the Powhatan, and the officials, on being received aboard, stated that they had come to show Captain Adams the landing at Uruga. They were then invited to accompany him on board the *Vandalia*, which ship immediately set sail, and moved down the bay. Captain Adams was the bearer of the following note from the Commodore to the Japanese authorities:

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP POWHATAN,

"American Anchorage, Yedo Bay, February 20, 1854

"The undersigned is highly gratified to learn, through the officers of his Majesty who have visited the flag ship, that the imperial court has come to the conclusion to respond, in the most cordial manner, to the propositions of the President of the United States which the undersigned had the honor to present in July last.

"Inasmuch as the anchorage at Uruga is unsafe and inconvenient, and considering the great size and value of the steamers composing a part of the command of the undersigned, he does not consider himself justified in removing to that place, on the contrary, he deems it necessary to seek a more commodious harbor higher up the bay, and as his instructions direct him to present himself at Yedo, it is desirable that he should approach as near as possible to that city, as well for the better convenience of communication as with reference, also, to the arrangement and exhibition of the various presents sent by the President to his Imperial Majesty.

"As the mission of the undersigned is of a most friendly character, he is not prepared to anticipate any objection to his reception at the seat of government, conformably to the usages of all the nations of Europe and America, and he hopes that when the steamers shall have reached the vicinity of the city, and secured more suitable moorings, he may have the honor of

receiving on board his ship such distinguished members of the imperial court as may be desirous of viewing the steamers and witnessing the working of their machinery

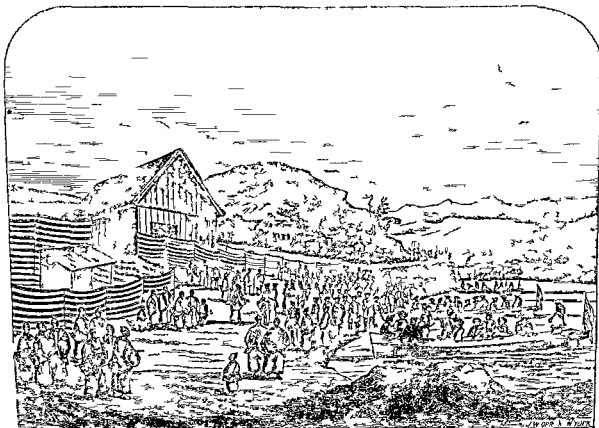
"This communication will be presented by Commander H A Adams, captain of the fleet, who is empowered to receive any written proposition addressed to the undersigned, and place at the disposal of the commissioners of his Imperial Majesty one of the vessels of the squadron

"With the highest respect,

"M G PERRY,

'Commander-in-chief U S Naval Forces East India, China, and Japan seas'

It was calm in the morning, but before the Vandahia had reached Uraga a strong gale from the southwest, and directly ahead, prevented her from reaching the port, and made it necessary for her to anchor under Point Rubicon * Captain Adams, accordingly, was not enabled to land, until the succeeding day It being the twenty second of February, Washington's birthday, the Vandahia commenced at noon firing a salute in honor of the occasion, and amidst the salvo of



Landing at Uraga

artillery Captain Adams left the ship, accompanied by a score of officers and attendants, and landed at Uraga, where they were met by a large party of Japanese officials, who conducted them to a wooden pavilion, which evidently had been but lately constructed

Captain Adams and his suite were ushered into a large hall some fifty feet long and forty

* Point Rubicon was a headland in the bay which had received that name from the Commodore because it was just abreast of it where the surveying boats on the first visit to Yedo Bay had in spite of some show of opposition on the part of the Japanese persisted in carrying on the operations with success and thus passed as it were the Rubicon

wide The floor was spread with soft mats of very fine texture, and at a distance of several feet from the walls, on either side, were arranged long settees covered with what appeared to be a red felt, in front of them were tables spread with a silken crape

The Americans were invited, on entering, to take their seats on the left hand, which is esteemed by the Japanese the place of honor, this they had no sooner done than the Japanese prince, accompanied by two other high dignitaries, entered the hall, through a curtained opening which led into another compartment As soon as these dignitaries presented themselves, the governor of Uraga, the interpreters, and various Japanese subordinates, who had accompanied the Americans, dropped at once upon their knees—a position they retained throughout the interview—and bowed their heads to the ground The prince and his two associates took their seats on the right, opposite to the American officers, and a file of Japanese soldiers, amounting to half a hundred, marched in and ranged themselves, on their knees, behind the three dignitaries, in the space between their backs and the wall

The prince, with his robes of richly embroidered silk, his fine presence, his benevolent and intelligent face, and his courtly manners, made quite an imposing appearance

He first addressed Captain Adams, rising as he spoke, and expressed his pleasure at seeing him His interpreters translated his Japanese into Dutch, which was then repeated in English by the American interpreter, Mr Portman The audience then commenced in form, and was conducted throughout with the most friendly expression of feeling on both sides

Captain Adams commenced by stating, that it was quite evident that Uraga was not a proper place for the ships, since the anchorage was so much exposed The Japanese replied, that it had been ordered by the Emperor to receive the Admiral there, and to deliver the answer to the President's letter there Captain Adams, without at the moment pushing this subject further, handed his card to the prince, and requested his in return He was told that he should have it in a few minutes, when the Japanese prince, requesting to be excused for a few moments, retired through the curtained door into an adjacent apartment In the meantime the attendants handed round tea, in small China cups handsomely adorned, and borne upon wooden trays beautifully lacquered The Japanese interpreters apologised for the meagreness of the repast, and entered into an informal conversation, in the course of which they asked for the names of the American officers who were present, and inquired whether they were satisfied with Uraga as a proper place for the reception of the President's letter

This subject was uppermost in their minds, and they seemed resolved to press it on all occasions, as they were very desirous of preventing any nearer approach of the squadron to Yedo, being instructed, no doubt, to attempt to accomplish this purpose at all hazards They were told that Captain Adams had a letter upon the subject from the Commodore, and were reminded of the severe weather to which the *Vandalia* had been exposed, and how impossible it was to place the squadron in a position so little protected against the stormy season then prevailing

The prince now entered and his card was handed to Captain Adams, upon which was recorded his full name and title, thus Hayashi Daigaku no-kami, i. e., Hayashi, prince of Daigaku

Captain Adams now handed the Commodore's letter, which has already been given in full, to the prince, accompanying it with a statement in regard to the insecure anchorage at Uraga, and the necessity of having shelter, space, and smooth water, for mooring the squadron, and repair

ing one of the ships which had become leaky. He also emphatically declared that it was quite impossible for the Commodore to come to Uraga, but that he would be very happy to send one of his steamers to convey the prince up the bay to a place of meeting, near the anchorage of the American ships.

The prince and his two coadjutors now retired to consider the Commodore's letter. In the meantime refreshments were presented, consisting of tea, of a cake resembling our sponge cake, candy, various fruits, and their *saki*.

A general conversation ensued in regard to the building which the Japanese said had been especially constructed for the meeting with the Commodore, the depth of the harbor, and other points of no material interest.

The Japanese interpreters, in answer to the objections urged against the security of the port of Uraga, insisted that it was perfectly safe, and requested Captain Adams to make a survey of it, in order to convince himself, and again and again earnestly urged upon him to entreat the Commodore to bring his ships there, and meet the Japanese high officers, who had been appointed to treat with him, saying that if he would come the whole treaty might be arranged before night. Captain Adams, in answer, said that he would inform the Commodore, when the conversation was interrupted by the reappearance of the three Japanese high dignitaries. Upon entering they announced that they had carefully perused the Commodore's letter three or four times, but were not prepared to give an answer, as they would be obliged to consult the other high officers appointed by the Emperor, and who were now in waiting at Uraga. On being asked when the answer would be ready, they appointed the third day after the interview. Captain Adams strove to impress upon them the necessity of dispatch, in consequence of the insecurity of the ship in the prevailing stormy weather at Uraga, and of explicitness in their answer, as the Commodore was anxious to bring matters to a conclusion, and to send to America one of his ships to report progress in the negotiations, and prevent others from coming out. The conference now being at an end, the prince and his coadjutors bowed politely and retired.

The weather being stormy and the water in the bay very rough, the American officers delayed their return to the *Vandalia*, and occupied the interval in strolling about and viewing the neighborhood. Hardly anything could be seen, however, of the town and the people, as the Japanese authorities had, in accordance with their usual custom, hemmed in the shore, on both sides of the audience hall, with cotton screens of some eight feet in height, which excluded the houses from the sight of the strangers. Crowds of men, women, and children could be observed, however, in the distance, thronging upon the surrounding hills, and gazing eagerly at the Americans. When the storm had somewhat abated, Captain Adams and his party, having been presented, in accordance with Japanese practice, with paper parcels containing the remains of the refreshments which had been left upon their plates or salvers, returned to their ship lying off the harbor. Some went back in the *Vandalia's* boats, while others accepted the offers of the Japanese officials, and put off in their craft. The superior excellence of the Japanese boats, in a sea, was admirably proved by the fact that those on board of them reached the ship with dry jackets while the others were wet through and through by the dashing spray. The use of the scull instead of the oar, may partially account for this advantage of the Japanese boats, although their construction has something to do with it. The sculls never leave the water, while the oars are constantly in and out, dipping up considerable spray, which at every stroke is blown, in case of a high wind, all over the persons in a boat of our usual construction.

"We wish this to be well understood we desire the Admiral to come to Uraga, there to have the interview with us in the building aforesaid, and would gratefully acknowledge the friendly meeting of the Lord Admiral in complying with this order of the Emperor and our own wishes

"Our best wishes for the health of the Admiral

"HAYASHI DAIGAKU-NO KAMI

"*The 27th Siogoots, 1854*

The arrival of Captain Adams was soon followed by that of Keyama Yezaiman, the governor of Uraga, who made his appearance with the alleged object of receiving a reply to the high officer's letter, but, as it will appear, for another purpose Yezaiman commenced by inquiring whether the Commodore was still determined not to return to Uraga, and being answered in the affirmative, he again offered supplies, and was again told that wood and water would be received Yezaiman replied that these articles would be cheerfully furnished, but that they could only be obtained at Uraga He was then informed that it was a matter of indifference whence they came, but that the Commodore would not go to Uraga, and if the Japanese did not bring water to the ships, the Commodore would send on shore and procure it by some means

Finding that the Commodore was immovable in purpose, and evidently inclined to approach nearer to Yedo, Yezaiman suddenly abandoned the previously pretended ultimatum of the Japanese commissioners, as to the place of meeting, and suggested a spot in the immediate neighborhood of the village of Yoku hama, directly opposite to where the ships then were anchored

Thus, after having interposed for the last ten days all possible objections to the squadron's moving further up the bay, and having used every inducement to prevail upon the Commodore to return to Uraga, they suddenly abandoned the position from which they had so frequently declared they could not possibly be moved * They had discovered that the Commodore was not to be shaken from his resolution, and finding that the ships had already approached within eight miles of their capital, they thought it politic to stop them there, while it was practicable, by a conciliatory concession

The motive of the Commodore for thus persisting, with what may seem obstinacy, in his determination not to go to Uraga, is best explained by himself In his communication to the honorable Secretary, on this subject, he thus writes

"I was convinced that if I receded in the least from the position first assumed by me, it would be considered by the Japanese an advantage gained, and, finding that I could be induced to change a predetermined intention in one instance, they might rely on prevailing on me, by dint of perseverance, to waver in most other cases pending the negotiations, therefore, it seemed to be the true policy to hold out at all hazards, and rather to establish for myself a character for unreasonable obstinacy, than that of a yielding disposition I knew that upon the impression thus formed by them would in a measure lunge the tenor of our future negotiations, and the sequel will show that I was right in my conclusions Indeed, in conducting all my business with these very sagacious and deceitful people, I have found it profitable to bring to my aid the experience gained in former and by no means limited intercourse with the inhabitants of strange lands, civilized and barbarian, and this experience has admonished me that, with people of forms, it is necessary either to set all ceremony aside, or to out Herod Herod in assumed personal consequence and ostentation

"I have adopted the two extremes—by an exhibition of great pomp, when it could properly be displayed, and by avoiding it, when such pomp would be inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions, and by resolving never to recognise, on any occasion, the slightest personal superiority, always meeting the Japanese officials, however exalted their rank, with perfect equality, whilst those of comparative distinction, of their own nation, were cringing and kneeling to them, and from motives of policy, and to give greater importance to my own position, I have hitherto studiously kept myself aloof from intercourse with any of the subordinates of the court, making it known that I would communicate with none but the princes of the Empire Up to this time, I have succeeded far beyond my expectations in maintaining this extreme point of diplomacy, and, as I believe, to very great advantage

"It is probable that arrogance may be charged against me for persisting as I did, and against the judgment of all about me, in changing the place of conference, and thus compelling four princes of the Empire to follow the squadron, and subjecting the government to the trouble and expense of erecting another building, but I was simply adhering to a course of policy determined on after mature reflection, and which had hitherto worked so well "

The Commodore expressed a willingness to accede to the last proposition of the Japanese, provided his officers, on examining the place selected, should find it suitable Captains Buchanan and Adams accordingly, having visited the spot in company with Yezaiman, returned with a favorable report The situation was suitable in all respects, being near to Yedo, with safe and commodious anchorage at a mile distant from the shore, and affording abundant space for landing and exhibiting the presents intended for the Emperor The Commodore accordingly determined to concur in the choice of the place now selected, and notified his resolution in the following communication

"UNITED STATES FLAG-SHIP POWHATAN,

"*At anchor off the town of Yoku-hama, Yedo Bay, March 1, 1854*

"YOUR EXCELLENCY The letter of your excellency from Uraga was duly delivered by Captain Adams, and shortly after, when it was ascertained that I could not agree to return to Uraga, Keyama Yezaiman suggested that the negotiations might be conducted at a village opposite the present anchorage of the squadron

"Being exceedingly desirous of meeting the wishes of your excellency, in every way consistent with the honor and interest of my country, and learning that the place pointed out was in all respects convenient for the purpose, I at once consented to defer my visit to Yedo until after the completion of the negotiations

"I the more readily entered into this arrangement, as, on examination of the port by the surveying boats, it has been found that the ships can approach near to the city, where I propose at some future time to anchor them, as well to do honor to his Imperial Majesty by salutes, &c, as to be in full view of the palace, and convenient to be visited by such of the court as may desire to examine the steamers and their machinery, and I hardly need say that they will be kindly and politely received

"With the most profound respect,

"M C PERRY,

"*Commander-in-chief United States Naval Forces East India, China, and Japan Seas, and Special Ambassador to Japan*

"His Highness HAYASHI DAIGAKU NO-KAMI, &c, &c, &c "

The surveying boats had been kept busy during the progress of all this negotiation, and immediately after the Commodore had signified his intention of accepting the proposition of the Japanese offering Yokuhama as the place of meeting, the party of surveyors returned to the Powhatan, and reported that they had found six fathoms of water within four or five miles of Yedo. This near approach to their capital was supposed to be the clue to the sudden change in the policy of the Japanese, as they doubtless feared that the Commodore would proceed at once to execute his threat of moving his squadron to Yedo, if the authorities still persisted in their demands for him to return to Uraga.

The Japanese now commenced constructing at once a wooden building for the proposed conference, and great numbers of workmen were seen busily engaged in bringing materials and putting them together in the form of a large and irregular structure. The ship's boats were sent out to examine the anchorage opposite the place, and the Commodore, after receiving a favorable report, directed (February 27) the squadron to be moored in a line abreast, and within a mile of Yokuhama, covering with their guns an extent of shore of five miles. Captains Buchanan and Adams went ashore, soon after the anchoring of the ships, to see the buildings in progress of erection, and to instruct the Japanese workmen how to make the wharf for the landing of the Commodore and his party. Accordingly, when Yezuman came on board the Powhatan, on March 3d, he alluded with some expression of anxiety to the fact of some of the Americans having landed, fearing, he said, lest some trouble might ensue, if this should be continued, between our people and the natives. As soon, however, as he was told the purpose of the visit, and of the Commodore's order that no one of his men should be allowed to land, he seemed satisfied.

Captain Adams now gave the governor of Uraga a letter which had been written to his friends by a Japanese who belonged to the squadron, and was generally known among the sailors by the sobriquet of Sam Patch. Sam was one of the crew, consisting of sixteen men, of a Japanese junk which had been driven off in a storm from the coast of Japan. An American merchant vessel, having fallen in with the junk, took the Japanese on board and conveyed them to San Francisco, where they were removed to a revenue cutter. They remained on board the cutter twelve months, when they were taken by the United States sloop-of-war *St. Marys* to China, and there transferred to the *Susquehanna*. When this steamer joined Commodore Perry's squadron, bound to Japan, the Japanese all preferred to remain in China, but if they returned home they should lose their lives, with the exception of Sam Patch, who remained on board, and being regularly shipped as one of the crew, was with the squadron on the first, as he was now on the second, visit to Japan. Upon his letter being presented to Yezuman he was requested to deliver it in accordance with the direction, which he promised to do, but the Japanese seemed very much surprised at the fact of one of their countrymen being among the crew, and expressed an earnest desire to see him. Yezuman was accordingly promised that his request should be complied with in the course of a few days.

Yezuman and his interpreters, to whom there was now added a new one, of the name of Miyama Ken-aki, who spoke a little English, which he was said to have acquired from an American sailor who had been a captive in Japan, and was one of those taken away by the *Preble*, came daily to the ships. As the building on shore was in progress, the details of its erection, and the prospective interview ashore, were naturally daily topics of conversation. The common remarks were spoken of, and the rank and number of those who were to participate

in them discussed. Yezaiman, in accordance with the request of the Commodore, submitted the names and credentials of the high commissioners who were to represent the government of Japan at the approaching conference. The following is a translation of the letter of credence of the imperial officers:

HAYASHI DAIGAKU NO-KAMI, IDO TEUS-SIMA NO KAMI, IZAWA MEMA SAKI NO KAMI, UDONO MINBUSCO

You are hereby empowered to hold interviews with his excellency the American ambassador on his arrival, and to negotiate concerning the business which has been communicated to you

SHOGOTS

KA-EI-SILSI NEU [SEAL OF THE EMPEROR]

Yezaiman having said, that now as his government knew the Americans better, and had entire confidence in them, there would be no Japanese soldiers brought out at the coming interview at Yoku hama, as before at Gora hama, he was assured that the guard that would accompany the Commodore was only intended to do honor to the occasion. A conversation then ensued which, as it refers to the important subject of the resources of Japan, in regard to coal and other supplies, is thought of sufficient importance to give verbatim, as reported by the Commodore's secretary. Captain Adams, it will be observed, was still acting in behalf of Commodore Perry, as the latter continued his policy of seclusion.

Yezaiman (having first alluded to the fact of the President's letter stating that coal would be probably wanted by American steamers touching on the coast of Japan) asked, "How much shall you need annually?"

Captain Adams "It is quite impossible now to say what amount will be needed, ships will call and get what they want. The Commodore, however, will speak on this point with the commissioners."

Yezaiman "We have plenty of coal, but a port is asked for to get it from—that is, a port where a ship can take it in conveniently."

Captain Adams "Yes, a port lying along the southern shores of Nippon would be most convenient, but the Commodore will arrange that. Where is the best coal found?"

Yezaiman "The most abundant supply and the best coal come from Kiusiu. I do not know how much there is in Nippon, but there is none in Siko." Yezaiman then changed the subject by asking, "What sort of provisions do you want? We have the greatest abundance of wheat and vegetables at Nagasaki."

Captain Adams "Our ships will only take such supplies as you can furnish."

Yezaiman "Our principal supplies are pork, beef, sheep, poultry, and vegetables of many kinds, but no Irish potatoes."

Captain Adams "Did you give the Russians any coal?"

Yezaiman "Yes, a little from time to time, and they said it was very good." Yezaiman then promised to bring a specimen of their coal, which he said was a fuel seldom used by the Japanese.

The arrival of the Saratoga, on the fourth of March, was quite an event to all the officers and men in the squadron, who, confined to the narrow limits of an anchored ship, month after month, with no variety in the daily routine of duty, and no change of scene from the monotonous view of the same look-out from deck, gladly welcomed anything that could break up for

* Yezaiman met us at Nagasaki where limited supplies of these articles are kept for strangers. The Japanese, in general, do not use the meats here named.

a moment the tedium of their life. The *Saratoga* had experienced very severe weather, which those in the squadron, although sheltered in a safe anchorage, could readily understand, for the season, even in the bay, had given evidence enough of its rude inclemency. Frequently the wind was so high and the waters of the bay so disturbed, that the surveying boats were obliged to intermit their labors. The frequent recurrence of rain, alternating with an occasional snow-storm, and a cold temperature more penetrating to the sensations, from its moisture, gave all a very disagreeable experience of a Japan winter. The hard-working Japanese boatmen seemed alone insensible to the weather, and, as they worked vigorously at their long sculls, sung cheerily, as if their half-naked bodies were as much proof against cold wind and boisterous weather, as their tight built craft.

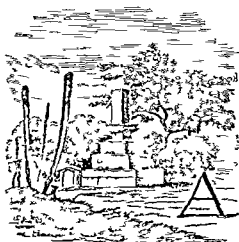
According to agreement, Sam Patch was brought forward and presented to the Japanese officials, and no sooner did he behold these dignitaries than he prostrated himself at once, apparently completely awe-stricken. Sam had been frequently laughed at during the voyage by his messmates, and teased by statements of the danger to which his head would be exposed on his arrival in his own country, and the poor fellow possibly thought his last hour had come. Captain Adams ordered him to rise from his knees, upon which he was crouching with the most abject fear and trembling in every limb. He was reminded that he was on board an American man-of-war, perfectly safe as one of her crew, and had nothing to fear; but it being found impossible to reassure him while in the presence of his countrymen, he was soon dismissed. But more of Sam hereafter.

The eighth of March had been appointed by the Commodore as the day for the conference ashore; and, as crowds of Japanese laborers kept busily at work upon the building, there seemed every prospect of its being ready in time. When the building was finished, the usual Japanese deputation, headed by Yezaiman, came off to the *Powhatan*, and, announcing the fact, asked if the Admiral would be ready to land on the next day, (March 8) They were told that, provided the weather should be suitable, the Commodore and his party would leave the squadron at twelve o'clock on the morrow. Yezaiman entered into some preliminary explanations in regard to the ceremonies on the occasion. He asked the number and names of all the officers in the squadron, with the purpose, as he said, of providing presents for each. Upon being asked whether the chief of the commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Commodore was next in rank to the Emperor, Yezaiman answered that he was, and at the same time corrected a previous statement, saying that, instead of four dignitaries in addition to the high commissioner, there would be five. With the usual courtly assurances of kindly feeling, Yezaiman and his suite took leave, saying, as he departed, that he would send a person on board next day to conduct the Commodore and his party to the land.



CHAPTER XIX.

SHIPS ANCHORED IN YOKU HAMA BAY SO AS TO COMMAND THE SHORE—KANAGAWA TREATY HOUSE—IMPERIAL BARGE.—LANDING OF THE COMMODORE—DESCRIPTION OF THE JAPANESE COMMISSIONERS—INTERPRETERS—SERVILITY TO SUPERIORS—NEGOTIATIONS COM ENCED—COMMODORE SURREITS A COPY OF THE TREATY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH CHINA FOR CONSIDERATION.—DEATH OF ONE OF OUR MEN—COMMODORE PROPOSES TO BUY A BURIAL GROUND FOR AMERICANS—COMMISSIONERS PROPOSE TO SEND THE BODY OF THE DECEASED TO NAGASAKI FOR INTERMENT—COMMODORE REFUSES AND PROPOSES TO BURY THE DEAD ON WEBSTER'S ISLAND—COMMISSIONERS CONSENT TO THE INTERMENT AT YOKU HAMA—THE BURIAL BY CHAPLAIN JONES—INTEREST OF THE JAPANESE IN THE CEREMONY—THEY AFTERWARD PERFORM THEIR OWN RITES OVER THE COVERED GRAVE.—THE JAPANESE BUILD AN ENCLOSURE AROUND THE SPOT.—JAPANESE ARTISTS ATTEMPT THE PORTRAITS OF OUR OFFICERS—ANSWER TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER—INFORMAL CONFERENCE BETWEEN CAPTAIN ADAMS AND TENOSKE—LANDING AND DELIVERY OF THE PRESENTS—JAPANESE WORKMEN ASSIST THE AMERICANS IN PREPARING FOR THEIR EXHIBITION—NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED—SURPRISE AND DELIGHT OF THE JAPANESE AT THE TELEGRAPH AND RAILROAD.—CURIOSITY OF THE JAPANESE IN EXAMINING MECHANISM—PASSION FOR BUTTONS—NOTE TAKING OF EVERYTHING STRANGE TO THEM—LOVE OF PICTURES—DRAWINGS—COMMON PEOPLE DISPOSED TO SOCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE AMERICANS—EXCITEMENT ON CHAPLAIN BITTINGER'S ATTEMPT TO REACH YEDO BY LAND—WRITTEN REPLY OF COMMISSIONERS, DECLINING TO MAKE A TREATY LIKE THAT OF THE UNITED STATES WITH CHINA.—FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS—ACCURACY OF THE JAPANESE IN NOTING ALL THE DISCUSSIONS—PORTS OF SIMODA AND HARADABI AGREED TO BUT WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY ON THE PART OF THE JAPANESE



LONG the western side of the Bay of Yedo, from its mouth, where it opens into the Gulf of Yedo, to the capital, there is almost a continuous range of towns and villages. The only breaks in this otherwise uninterrupted scene of populousness are the projecting spurs of the highlands, which, presenting less advantage for habitation, naturally prevent the erection of dwelling houses. These promontories, however, are covered with batteries, which are more formidable in aspect than in reality, for their guns are but of small calibre, and the defences slight in construction. Yoku hama is one of these numerous and populous villages, and is situated at the head of a bay called on the American charts "Yoku hama Bay," which is formed by Point

Hope, on the southeast, and the neck of land extending northeast from Kanagawa to the suburb of the city of Yedo, termed Sina_gawa, and near to which the junks resorting to the capital usually anchor. At the position in front of Yoku hama there was just sufficient room to anchor in a line of battle the whole squadron, the guns of the several ships commanding an extent

of shore equal to their entire range. It was in this position that the Commodore had placed his nine ships—the steam frigates, the Powhatan, which was the flag ship, the Susquehanna, and the Mississippi, and the sailing ships, the Macedonian, the Vandalia, the Saratoga, the Southampton, the Lexington, and the Supply, the latter having subsequently joined the squadron*.

Kanagawa is quite a large town, and was the residence of the Japanese commissioners pending the negotiations of the treaty, and it would have been selected by Commodore Perry for the place of conference, had it not been for the impossibility of the ships approaching within gunshot of its front towards the bay. He therefore preferred to select Yoku hama, to confirm the choice of Captains Buchanan and Adams, who had been sent to examine and report upon the most eligible anchorage for the squadron.

The building erected for the accommodation of the Japanese commissioners and the Commodore, and the numerous persons in attendance, and which was called by the Americans the "treaty house," was placed upon a level plain near to the shore, and contiguous to the village of Yoku hama, being distant from Kanagawa three, from the southern suburb of the capital five, and from Yedo itself probably nine miles. The treaty house had been hastily erected of unpainted pine wood, with peaked roofs, and covered a large extent of ground, having a reception hall of from forty to sixty feet in area, and several adjoining apartments and offices. From each side extended yellow canvas screens divided into panel like squares by black painted stripes. On the exterior walls of the building was spread a dark cloth, upon which was represented in bright colors some device which was said to be the arms of the third commissioner, Izawa, prince of Mimasaki.

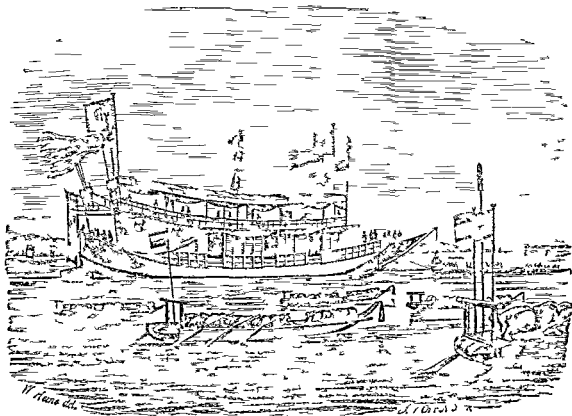
At an early hour on the 8th of March, the day appointed for the conference with the Japanese commissioners, there was an unusual stir ashore preparatory to the ceremonies of the occasion. The Japanese workmen were busily engaged in adorning the treaty house with streamers and other gay paraphernalia. Two poles were erected, one on either side of the entrance, to which were hung long oblong banners of white cotton cloth with a bright red stripe across the centre. On the peaked roof of the building was placed a tall staff, surmounted with a circular ornament in shape like the upper part of a chandelier, from which was suspended a heavy silken tassel. In the preparation of the place it had been surrounded by the usual enclosure of cloth, which completely excluded it from the view of those without, and, in fact, seemed to enclose it within a sort of prison yard. The Commodore, who saw this arrangement from his ship before he landed, immediately sent an officer on shore to demand what it meant, and, in answer to some frivolous pretext about preventing intrusion and doing honor to the occasion, informed the Japanese that he would forego the honor, and that, until it was completely removed, he could not think of landing. It was immediately taken down by the Japanese.

Bands of flag bearers, musicians and pikemen manœuvred in order here and there, glistening with their lacquered caps, bright colored costumes, crimson streamers, showy emblazonry, and burnished spears. There was no great military display as on the first visit at Gora hama, and the few who had the look of soldiers were merely a small body guard, composed of the retainers of the various high dignitaries who were to officiate on the occasion. Crowds of people had

* The Supply arrived with coal and stores for the squadron on the 19th of March.

gathered from the neighboring towns and villages, and were thronging in curious eagerness on either side of a large open space on the shore which was kept free from intrusion by barriers, within which none of the spectators were allowed to enter. Two or three officials were seen busily moving about, now directing the workmen, and again checking the disorder among the Japanese multitude.

Soon a large barge came floating down the bay from the neighboring town of Kanagawa. This was a gaily painted vessel which, with its decks and open pavilion rising high above the hull, had very much the appearance of one of our western river steamboats, while streamers floated



Imperial Barge at Yokukama.

from its three masts, and bright colored flags and variegated drapery adorned the open deck above. This barge bore the Japanese commissioners and when it had reached to within a short distance of the shore these dignitaries and their suites disembarked in several boats and hurried to the land. An immense number of Japanese craft of all kinds, each with a tassel at its prow and a square striped flag at its stern, gathered about the barge. The day was fresh and clear, and everything had a cheerful aspect in spite of the lingering wintry look of the landscape.

The Commodore had made every preparation to distinguish the occasion of his second landing in Japan by all necessary parade, knowing as he did the importance and moral influence of such a show upon so ceremonious and artificial a people as the Japanese. He had, accordingly, issued orders to the effect that all the marines who could be spared from duty should appear on the occasion in full accoutrement, that the bands of music from the three steamers should be present and all the officers and sailors that could possibly leave. The officers were to be in undress uniform, frock coats, cap and epaulettes, and equipped with swords and pistols. The

sailors were to be armed with muskets, cutlasses and pistols, and dressed in blue jackets and trousers and white frocks. The musicians were each to be supplied with cutlass and pistol, and every man of the escort provided with either musket or pistol cartridge boxes.

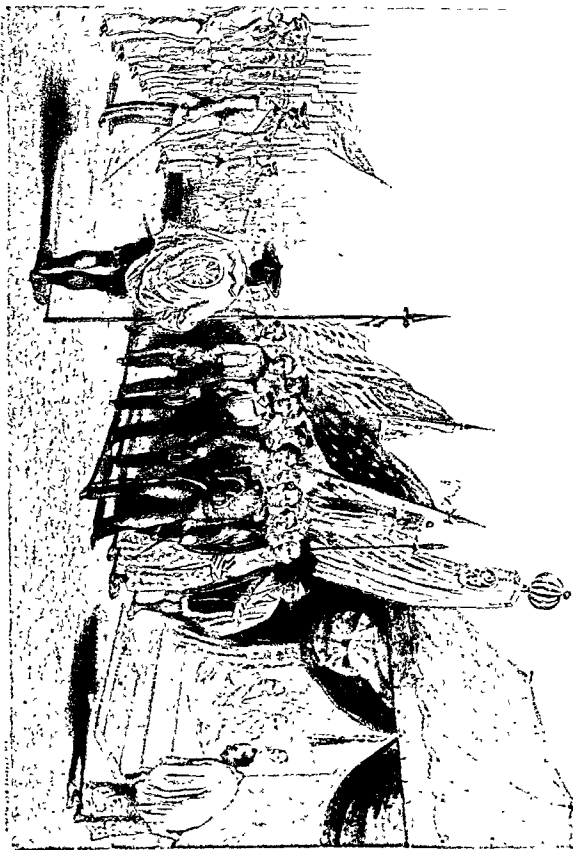
At half past eleven o'clock the escort, consisting of about five hundred officers, seamen and marines, fully armed, embarked in twenty-seven boats, under the command of Commander Buchanan, and forming a line abreast, pulled in good order to the shore. When the escort had landed, the marines were drawn up in a hollow square, leaving a wide open space between them, while the naval officers remained in a group at the wharf. The ship's boats were arranged in two separate divisions of equal numbers on either side of the landing, with their bows pointing in regular order from the shore. The Commodore now embarked from the Powhatan in his barge, under a salute from the Macedonian of seventeen guns. The Commodore, on landing, was received by the group of officers, who, falling into a line, followed him. The bands now struck up a lively tune, and the marines, whose orderly ranks in complete military appointment, with their blue and white uniforms, and glistening bayonets, made quite a martial and effective show, presented arms as the Commodore, followed in procession by his immediate staff, his guard of fine looking sailors and a number of his subordinate officers, proceeded up the shore. A group of richly costumed Japanese guards, or retainers, with banners, flags and streamers, were gathered on each side of the entrance of the treaty house. As the Commodore and his party passed up between these they were met by a large number of Japanese officials who came out, and uncovering, conducted them into the interior of the building. As they entered, by a preconcerted arrangement, howitzers which had been mounted on the bows of the larger ship's boats, that were floating just by the shore, commenced firing in admirable order a salute of twenty-one guns in honor of the Emperor, which were succeeded by a salute of seventeen for Hayashi Dairaku no-kami, the high commissioner, and the hoisting of the Japanese striped flag from the masthead of the steamer Powhatan in the bay.

The apartment into which the Commodore and his officers first entered was a large hall, arranged in a similar manner to that at Gori hama. Thick rice-straw mats carpeted the floor, long and wide seats, covered with a red cloth, extended along the sides, with tables spread with the same material arranged in front of them. The windows were composed of pieces of oiled paper, through which a subdued and mellow light illuminated the hall, while a comfortable temperature was kept up—for, although the spring, which is early in Japan, had already opened, the weather was chilly—by copper braziers of burning charcoal, which, supported upon lacquered wooden stands, were freely distributed about. Hangings fell from the walls around, with paintings of trees, and representations of various animals and birds, particularly of the crane, with its long neck in every variety of strange evolution.

The Commodore and his officers and interpreters had hardly taken their seats on the left, the place of honor, and the various Japanese officials, of whom there was a goodly number, theirs on the right, when the five commissioners entered from an apartment which opened through an entrance at the upper end of the hall. As soon as they presented themselves the subordinate Japanese officials prostrated themselves on their knees, and remained in that attitude during the presence.

The commissioners were certainly august persons, and their grave but courteous manners, and their rich flowing robes of silk, set them off to the highest advantage. Their costume consisted of an under garment several similar to the antique d'ublet, and a pair of

COMMO FERRY MEETING THE IMPERIAL COMMISSION AT 10 A.M.



or woollen socks, laced to some distance above the ankles. The socks were so contrived that the great toe was separated from the other four for the passage of the band which attached to the sandal, and joined another from the heel at the ankle, where the two were tied together. Over the doublet and trousers a loose gown of embroidered silk, something in the shape of the clerical robe, with loose sleeves, was worn. This was secured to the waist by a sash, in which are usually thrust the two swords which mark the dignitaries of higher rank. The three princes alone, of all the commissioners, were observed to wear a white inner shirt, or vest, which was exposed at the breast. This was a mark of the very highest rank, and belongs exclusively to princes and the loftiest dignitaries of the Empire.

Hayashi Daigaku no-kami, prince councillor, was evidently the chief member of the commission, for all matters of importance were referred to him. He was a man of about fifty-five years of age, was handsomely formed, and had a grave and rather saturnine expression of face, though he had a benevolent look and exceedingly courtly manners. Ido, Prince of Tsushima, was probably fifty, or thereabout, and was corpulent and tall in person. He had a rather more vivacious expression than the elder Hayashi. The third and youngest of the princes was the Prince of Mima-saki, who could hardly be much beyond forty years of age, and was far the best looking of the three. He was quite gay, fond of fun and frolic, and had the reputation of being a Lothario. According to the interpreters, Mima-saki entertained more liberal views with respect to foreign intercourse than any of his coadjutors, and seemed to be a great favorite with the Japanese, as he certainly was with all the Americans. His gaiety of heart manifested itself very apparently in his fondness for the music of the bands of the squadron, and he could not keep his hands and feet quiet whenever they struck up a lively air.

Udono, who, though not a prince, was a man of high station, and was known by the title of Mimbu shiroyu, or member of the board of revenue, was a tall, passable looking man, but his features were prominent and had much of the Mongolian caste. The fifth and last one of the five commissioners was Matsusaki Michitaro, whose rank and title were not discovered. Indeed, he had not been originally named to the Americans as one of the commissioners. In reply to the inquiries made, they at first said there were four, and afterward, at a subsequent interview, the interpreter remarked, as if casually, that a fifth commissioner had been added. Possibly he was the official public spy appointed to remind the others, by his presence, of their duty, and to warn of any danger. Whatever may have been his official position, his private business in the commission it was difficult to fathom, he was always present at the conference, but took his seat constantly at rather a remote distance from the other dignitaries, on the further end of the sedan. By him there was continually crouched, upon his knees, a scribe, who was constantly employed in taking notes of what was passing, and occasionally under the promptings of his superior. Matsusaki was rather an equivocal character, difficult to understand. As far as could be observed, he did not seem to be called into consultation, at least publicly, and from the circumstance of not sitting with the other commissioners, his rank and powers seemed to be inferior to theirs. This, however, is but conjectural. Our officers, of course, asked no questions, though all agreed in the decidedly unfavorable impression made upon them by Matsusaki. I thought they knew, he might have been the Emperor himself, though it is most unlikely, and if he were, all that can be said is that he was much less polished and agreeable than his princely commissioners. He was, as we have intimated, probably the court scribe. He was a man of sixty years of age at least, had a long, drawn-out meagre body, a very yellow bilious face, an uncomfortable frowning expression, which his excessive short black dress did

not improve, for it caused him in his efforts at seeing, to give a very wry distortion to a countenance naturally not very handsome *.

Moryama Yenoske was the principal interpreter who officiated on the occasion the same man who figured so conspicuously during the visit of Captain Glynn in the Preble. As soon as the commissioners had taken their seats, Yenoske took his position on his knees, at the feet of Hayashi, the chief, and humbly awaited his orders. The Japanese are never forgetful of the respect which they think due to rank, and graduate their obeisance according to its degrees. From the Emperor to the lowest subject in the realm there is a constant succession of prostrations. The former, in want of a human being superior to himself in rank, bows humbly to some Pagan idol and every one of his subjects from prince to peasant, has some person before whom he is bound to cringe and crouch in the dirt. One is reminded, as he looks upon a universal nation on their knees in supplication bent, of a favorite amusement of childhood, where a number of blocks are placed on end in a row one shoves the other, and the first being knocked down topples over the second, and so on in succession until all are tumbled upon the ground. The crouching position in which an inferior places himself when in the presence of his superior in rank seems very easy to a Japanese, but would be very difficult and painful for one to assume who had not been accustomed to it. The ordinary mode pursued is to drop on

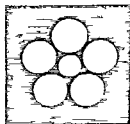
* It may not be without interest to the reader to present the heraldic devices of the Emperor and commissioners as well as that of Iwano Chey.



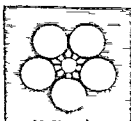
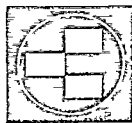
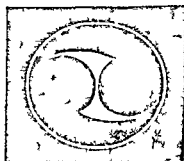
EMPEROR



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LAW - CHEW



the knees, cross the feet, and turn up the heels, with the toes, instep, and calves of the legs brought together into close contact

Sometimes it is mere squatting down with the soles firm upon the ground, the knees bent, and the body crouched low. Yenoske was quite an adept in these manœuvres, as were his coadjutors, and especially the prefect, Kura kawa kahai, who was one of the subordinate functionaries present during the conference. They all showed a wonderful elasticity of muscle and suppleness of joint which could only have been acquired by long practice, and reminded one of those skilful contortionists or clowns, who exhibit their caoutchouc accomplishments to the wonderment of the spectators. These worthies, humble as they were in the august presence of the commissioners, had their worshippers in turn, who were more humble still, and who outdid them, even, in their bowings and prostrations. Every Japanese is thus by turns master and slave, now submissively with his neck beneath the foot of one, and again haughtily with his foot upon the neck of another. The commissioners, after a momentary silence, spoke a word to the prostrate Yenoske, who listened an instant, with downcast eyes, and then by a skilful manœuvre, still upon his knees, moved toward the commissioners' interpreter, and having communicated his message, which proved to be merely the ordinary compliments, with an inquiry after the health of the Commodore and his officers, returned with an appropriate answer to his former position. An interchange of various polite messages having been thus borne backward and forward for several minutes, through the medium of the humble but useful Yenoske, refreshments, consisting of the invariable pipe, tea in porcelain cups, served on lacquered trays, cakes, and some confectionary were handed round.

It was now proposed by the commissioners that an adjournment should take place to another room, which they stated would accommodate comfortably about ten persons. Accordingly, the Commodore having assented, he, accompanied by the captain of the fleet, his two interpreters and secretary, were conducted into another and much smaller room, the entrance to which was only separated from the principal hall by a blue silk flag, ornamented in the centre with the embroidered arms of Japan. On entering, the commissioners were found already seated on the right, they having withdrawn previously to the Commodore, and arranged themselves in rank upon one of the red divans, which extended along the sides of the apartment.

The Commodore and his party took their seats on the left, and business commenced, the commissioners having preliminarily stated that it was a Japanese custom to speak slowly. They were evidently very anxious to proceed with deliberation, and weigh every word with the exactness of cautious diplomatists.

The chief commissioner now handed the Commodore a long roll of paper, which proved to be an answer to the President's letter, delivered on the previous visit at Gori hama in July.

Translation of answer to the letter of the President to the Emperor of Japan

"The return of your excellency, as ambassador of the United States to this Empire, has been expected according to the letter of his Majesty the President, which letter your excellency delivered last year to his Majesty the Emperor of this Empire.

"It is quite impossible to give satisfactory answers at once to all the proposals of your government, as it is most positively forbidden by the laws of our Imperial ancestors, but for us to continue attached to the ancient laws, seems to misunderstand the spirit of the age, however, we are governed now by imperative necessity

As an evidence of the friendly intentions of the President, and to pay the highest honor to his Imperial Majesty, he has sent me in command of a number of ships—to be increased by others which are to follow—not only to bear to his Majesty the letter which I have already presented, but to evince, by every suitable act of kindness, the cordial feelings entertained by him towards Japan.

That there might be sufficient time allowed for a full consideration of the just and reasonable demands of the President, I took upon myself to withdraw the ships in July last from the coast, and have now, after an absence of seven months, returned, in the full expectation of a most satisfactory arrangement.

Another proof of the friendly disposition of the President has been given in his sending for exhibition to the Imperial court three of the magnificent steamers of the United States, of which there are many thousands, large and small, in America, and he has also sent, for presentation to the Emperor, many specimens of the most useful inventions of our country.

Therefore, after all these demonstrations of good will, it would be strange if the Japanese government did not seize upon this very favorable occasion to secure a friendly intercourse with a people anxious to prevent, by wise and prudent foresight, all causes of future misunderstanding and strife.

It will be observed that there is no western nation so intimately connected with the peace and welfare of Japan as the United States, a part of whose territory lies opposite the Imperial coast, and whose commerce covers the Pacific ocean and Japan seas, not less than five hundred large ships being engaged exclusively in those regions in pursuit of whales, the crews of many of which suffer for want of water and other refreshments, and it would seem nothing more than common humanity to receive those who may seek shelter in the ports of Japan with kindness and hospitality.

The government of China has derived much benefit from its treaty with the United States. The purchase of teas by the Americans during the present year will amount to three million six hundred thousand (3,600,000) taels, and of raw and manufactured silks to nearly three millions (3,000,000) of taels.

Nearly thirty thousand subjects of the Emperor of China have visited America, where they have been kindly received, and permitted by the American laws to engage in whatever occupation best suited them. They have also been allowed to erect temples, and to enjoy in all freedom their religious rites. All have accumulated money, and some have returned to China, after a short absence, with sums varying from 300 to 10 000 taels.

I have adverted to these facts merely to show the advantages that would grow out of such a treaty as I now propose, and to remark again that some amicable arrangement between the two nations has become positively necessary, and for reasons already explained.

Indeed, I shall not dare to return to the United States without carrying with me satisfactory responses to all the proposals of the President, and I must remain until such are placed in my possession.

With the most profound respect,

M C PERRY,

Commander-in-chief U S Naval Forces East India,

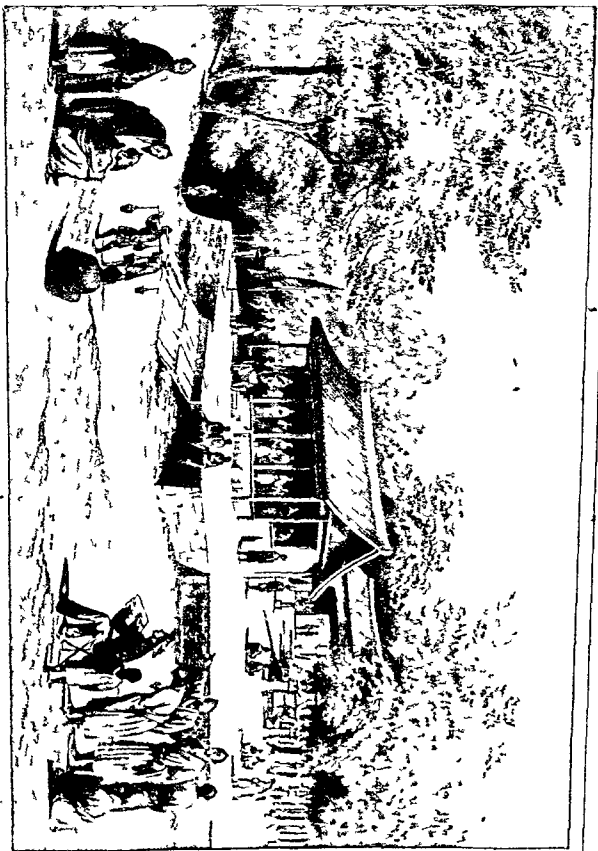
China, and Japan Seas, and special Ambassador to Japan

His Highness HAYASHI DAIGAKU NO-KAMI, &c, &c

VIEW FROM WEBSTER ISL^d



From Webster Island





One of the marines belonging to the Mississippi had died two days previous to the conference, and the suitable interment of his body now came up in course of discussion. The Commodore proposed to buy a piece of ground from the Japanese for the burial of the man then lying dead, and for any other American who might die. This proposition seemed to perplex the commissioners, and, after some consultation, they retired to discuss the question alone, and, on leaving, invited the Commodore and his officers to partake of some refreshments, consisting of saké, fruit and cakes, soups and fish, which were immediately served. This invitation was accepted, with the remark that it would be more consonant with American notions of hospitality if the commissioners were to join the Commodore and his officers, as the breaking of bread together was, in the United States, as among many other nations, considered an evidence of friendship. The Japanese replied that they were unacquainted with foreign customs, but would cheerfully join. They then all retired, but, shortly after, the second and third in rank of the number returned and participated socially in the repast that had been served, one of the dignitaries filling a cup of saké at once, drinking it off to the dregs, and, turning it bottom upward, remarked that it was a Japanese custom for the host to drink first.

It was not long before the whole board was again in session, and a written reply to the Commodore's request respecting the burial of the marine presented by the chief commissioner, and to the purport that, as a temple had been set apart at Nagasaki for the interment of strangers, it would be necessary to send the body to Uraga, whence, at a convenient season, it might be conveyed in a Japanese junk to the former place. To this the Commodore objected that undisturbed resting places were granted by all nations, and then proposed to send boats and inter the body at Webster island. Webster island, as it is named on the American charts, is a small island lying convenient to the "American anchorage," and the Commodore had determined, if the Japanese had persisted in forbidding the interment within any of their numerous burial places, to have effected it at all hazards upon that island, being perfectly satisfied that the Japanese respect for the dead would leave the body undisturbed. The commissioners evinced strong objections to the choice of the spot, and, after considerable discussion among themselves, finally consented to allow the burial to take place at Yoku hama, at a place adjoining one of their temples, and in view of the squadron. They observed, however, that, as the novelty of the scene might attract an inconvenient crowd, the authorities would send on board the Mississippi, in the morning, an officer to accompany the funeral party.

The Commodore now prepared to depart, having first stated that he would be happy to see the Japanese dignitaries on board his vessel as soon as the weather should become warmer. They expressed courteously the pleasure they would have in accepting the invitation, and, bowing, retired. The subordinate American officers had been entertained with refreshments in the large outer hall during the conference, and amused with the rude efforts of Japanese artists, who had been sent from Yedo, at delineating their portraits. The Commodore now passed out, followed by his suite and the procession of officers as before, and marching down, to the music of the bands, between the files of marines on either side, embarked in his barge and pulled for the ship. The other boats soon followed, filled with the numerous officers, sailors, marines, and others, who had shared in the ceremonies of the day.

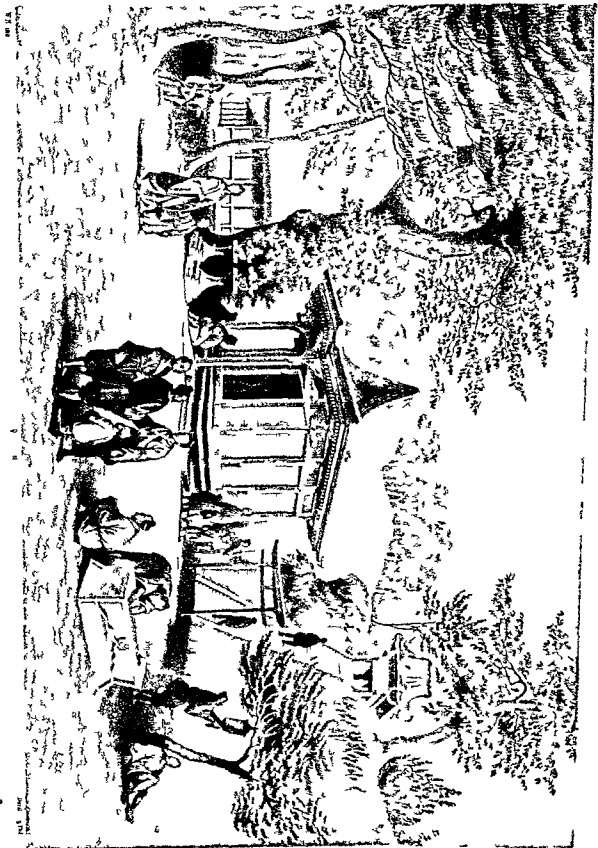
Early next day, (Thursday, March 9,) as had been arranged, a Japanese official went on board the Mississippi to accompany the funeral party on shore, for the purpose of pointing out the burial place selected for the interment of the dead marine. At five o'clock in the afternoon

the boats left the ship with the body, attended by the chaplain, Mr. Jones, Mr. Williams, the interpreter, and a party of marines. The flags of every vessel in the squadron were hoisted at half mast as the boats pushed off. The body was borne to a very picturesque spot at the foot of a hill, at a short distance from the village of Yokohama. The chaplain, Mr. Jones, was robed in his clerical gown, and on his lining was received in the most courteous manner by some of the Japanese authorities, who showed none of their supposed repugnance to the Christian religion and its ministers. Crowds of the people had also gathered, and looked on with great curiosity,



FIGURE 1. THE FUNERAL.

but with decorous respect, as the funeral procession moved slowly along to the sound of the muffled drum. The road lay through the village, and its inhabitants came out from their houses and open shops to behold the novel scene. The place chosen for the burial was near a Japanese place of interment with stone idols and sculptured herabones, and as the procession came up a Buddhist priest, in robes of richly embroidered silk, was observed already on the ground.



Mr Jones read the service of the Protestant Episcopal church, and while he was officiating the Buddhist priest sat near by on a mat, with an altar before him, on which was a collection of scraps of paper, some rice, a gong, a vessel containing sake, and some burning incense. The service having been read, the body lowered, and the earth thrown in, the party retired from the grave. The Buddhist priest then commenced the peculiar ceremonies of his religion, beating his gong, telling his rosary of glass and wooden beads, muttering his prayers, and keeping alive the burning incense. He was still going through his strange formulary when the Americans moved away, and crowds of Japanese continued to linger in the neighborhood, about the crests and acclivities of the hills which bounded the scene. Mr Williams, the interpreter, who had lived long in China, and was familiar with the Buddhist worship, recognized its peculiarities in the precisely similar ceremonies performing at the grave by the Japanese priest. A neat enclosure of bamboo was subsequently put up about the American grave by the authorities, and a small hut was erected near, for a Japanese guard to watch the grave for a time, according to their custom.

On the same day the prefect, Kura Kawa Kakei, and the chief interpreter, Yenoske, came on board the Powhatan with a copy of the Imperial reply to the President's letter, duly certified and signed by the four commissioners. The two Japanese officials subsequently repaired to the Mississippi, where they conferred for some time with Captain Adams. They appointed the Monday following (March 13th) for the reception of the presents, and it was arranged that those persons who had the supervision of the telegraph, the Daguerreotype apparatus, and steam engine, should land on the previous Saturday, to arrange a place for their suitable exhibition. The Japanese stated that two of the commissioners would be in attendance, with a scribe, to receive and record the various presents, and the names of the persons for whom they were intended. Upon Captain Adams saying that all the presents received by the officers of the United States were, by law, the property of the government, Yenoske remarked that a similar law existed in Japan. To the inquiry of the Japanese as to when the Commodore's reply to the answer to the President's letter would be ready, it was promised for the subsequent Saturday.

Captain Adams now asked what ports the commissioners had selected for the trade of the Americans, and where they were, and remarked that five years, the time appointed for the opening of them, was deemed by the Commodore much too long, and that he would never submit to having a place so restricted as Desuma for the use of the Americans. The prefect waived all immediate consideration of the subject, saying that it was one upon which the commissioners would negotiate and deliberate, and that it would necessarily require time. Yenoske, the interpreter, was then told that he could forward the purposes of the expedition, since he was familiar with them, he promised to do so to the utmost of his power, but he declined, although a map was placed before him, to name the ports for American intercourse, saying, as he refused, that the whole matter was so new, and so opposed to the laws of the Empire, that time would be required to bring matters to such an issue. In regard to the question of going ashore, which had been submitted to the commissioners, Captain Adams asked for some explicit reply, stating that the surveying party, which was at the time at work in the bay, would require to plant signals along the shore, but would not go into the interior. To this the prefect answered that the views of the commissioners had not been yet fully matured, but seemed to concur in the necessity of the signals, if the Commodore had so ordered it. He, however, expressed his fear of trouble and confusion, if the officers, engaged in their duty,

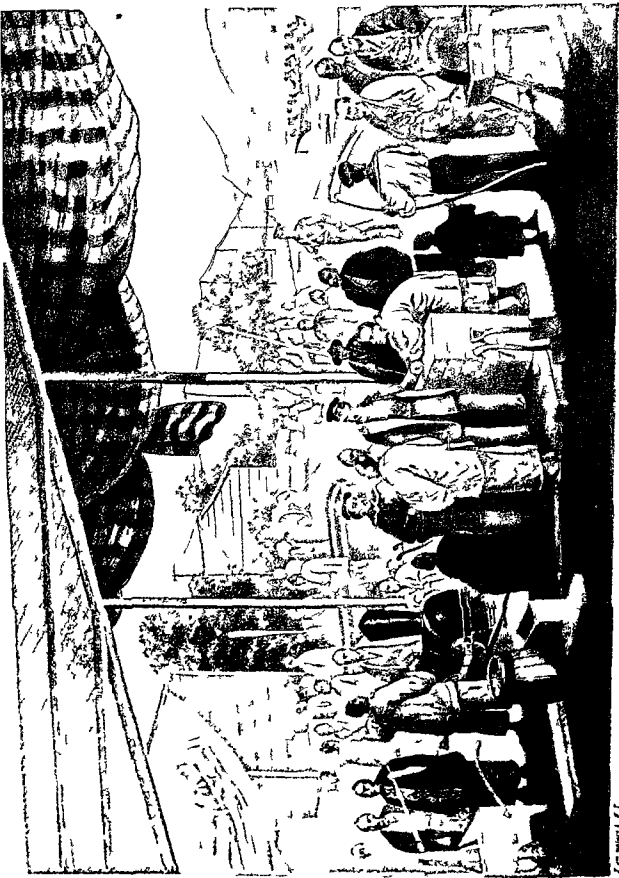
should enter the villages, and hoped they would go down the bay, and not northward. The subject of supplies was next spoken of, and the question of payment seemed to be conceded by the Japanese, who proposed that as soon as a port was selected, certain compradors should be appointed for the sale of articles of every kind, but in the meantime, they said a single person would be chosen, whose duty it would be to supply what was necessary, and receive in payment the American coin, to be estimated weight for weight with the Japanese money. They would prefer, they said, that Nagasaki should be the place for such transactions, but granted the necessity of carrying them on for the present where they were. The hours for the future meetings being settled at from eleven o'clock to one, instead of the previous irregular mode, the Japanese took their departure.

On the next day (March 11) a short conference was held by Captain Adams with the same Japanese officials in the treaty house on shore. He also bore a communication of the date of the 10th of March from the Commodore, addressed to the commissioners, in which the answer to the President's letter was acknowledged. The Commodore, while he expressed his satisfaction at the determination of the Japanese government to alter its policy in regard to foreign governments, at the same time stated that the concessions proposed were not enough, and that a written compact or treaty, with wider provisions, was essential. The chief points talked of were, the answer to the Commodore's notes in reference to the proposed treaty, and the privilege of going ashore. In regard to the former, they stated that a reply was not yet prepared, but as for the latter, the interpreter remarked, unofficially, that there would be no objection to the Commodore and his officers going ashore, but that if the permission should be general, difficulty with the people might ensue. Some general conversation followed in regard to the necessity of dispatch in the negotiations, Captain Adams stating that it was the Commodore's intention to send one of his ships to the United States, in the course of a week or so, to inform the government at home of the progress of the negotiations, that it might know whether it was necessary to send more vessels or not. The Japanese evinced some uneasiness at this statement, and asked, "Whether the Americans are friendly?" "Certainly we are," was the answer, and the conference closed in the most amicable manner.

The day agreed upon had arrived (Monday, March 13) for the landing of the presents, and although the weather was unsettled, and the waters of the bay somewhat rough, they all reached the shore without damage.*

* The following is a list of some of the various presents landed on the occasion:

1 box of arms containing—	1 box perfumery, 2 packages, Emperor
5 Hall's rifles,	1 barrel whiskey, Emperor
3 Maynard's muskets,	1 cask wine, Emperor
12 cavalry swords,	1 box for distribution
6 artillery swords,	1 box containing 11 pistols, for distribution
1 carbine,	1 box perfumery, for distribution
20 army pistols,	A quantity of cherry cordials, distributed
2 cashmere cartridge boxes, and belts, containing 120 cartridges.	A quantity of cherry cordials, Emperor
10 Hall's rifles,	A number of baskets champagne, Emperor
11 cavalry swords,	A number of baskets champagne, commissioners
1 carbine, cartridge box and belt, and 60 cartridges.	1 box China ware, common owners.
60 belt cartridges	A quantity of matches, do, commissioners.
1 box books, Emperor	1 telescope, Emperor
1 box dressing-case, Emperor	Boxes of tea, Emperor
	1 box of tea, commissioners.



DELIVERING OF THE AMERICAN PRESENTS AT YOKUHAMA

The presents filled several large boats, which left the ship escorted by a number of officers, a company of marines, and a band of music, all under the superintendence of Captain Abbott, who was delegated to deliver the presents, with proper ceremonies, to the Japanese high commissioners. A building adjoining the treaty house had been suitably constructed and arranged for the purpose, and on landing Captain Abbot was met by Yezaimin, the governor of Uraga, and several subordinate officials, and conducted to the treaty house. Soon after entering, the high commissioner, Prince Hayashi, came in, and the usual compliments being interchanged, Captain Abbott, with the interpreters, were led into the smaller room, where a letter from the Commodore and some formalities on the delivery of the presents were disposed of. The Japanese commissioner, after some discussion, fixed the ensuing Thursday (March 16) for an interview with the Commodore on shore, when they promised to deliver a formal reply to his notes in regard to the opening of the various Japanese ports insisted upon.

The presents having been formally delivered, the various American officers and workmen selected for the purpose were diligently engaged daily in unpacking and arranging them for exhibition. The Japanese authorities offered every facility, their laborers constructed sheds for sheltering the articles from the inclemency of the weather, a piece of level ground was assigned for laying down the circular track of the little locomotive, and posts were brought and erected for the extension of the telegraph wires, the Japanese taking a very ready part in all the labors, and watching the result of arranging and putting together the machinery with an innocent and childlike delight. The telegraphic apparatus, under the direction of Messrs Draper and Williams, was soon in working order, the wires extending nearly a mile, in a direct line, one end being at the treaty house, and another at a building expressly allotted for the purpose. When communication was opened up between the operators at either extremity, the Japanese watched with intense curiosity the *modus operandi*, and were greatly amazed to find that in an instant of time messages were conveyed in the English, Dutch, and Japanese languages from building to building. Day after day the dignitaries and many of the people would gather, and, cagerly beseeching the operators to work the telegraph, watch with unabated interest the sending and receiving of messages.

Nor did the railway, under the direction of Engineers Gay and Danby, with its Lilliputian locomotive, car, and tender, excite less interest. All the parts of the mechanism it were perfect, and the car was a most tasteful specimen of workmanship, but so small that it could hardly carry a child of six years of age. The Japanese, however, were not to be cheated out of a ride, and, as they were unable to reduce themselves to the capacity of the inside of the carriage, they betook themselves to the roof. It was a spectacle not a little ludicrous to behold

2 telegraph instruments.

3 Francis & Co. boats.

1 locomotive and tender passenger car and rail-

4 volumes Audubon's Birds of America

3 volumes Audubon's Quadrupeds.

Several clocks

10 sh. p's beakers containing 100 gallons whiskey

8 baskets Irish potatoes

3 stoves

Boxes standard United States balances

Boxes standard United States bushels

Boxes standard United States gallon measures

Boxes standard United States yards.

files.

1 box insulators

1 box connecting apparatus

1 box machine weights.

1 box acid

1 box seed

Large quantity of agricultural implements, &c., &c., &c.

a dignified mandarin whirling around the circular road at the rate of twenty miles an hour, with his loose robes flying in the wind. As he clung with a desperate hold to the edge of the roof, grinning with intense interest, and his huddled up body shook convulsively with a kind of laughing timidity, while the car spun rapidly around the circle, you might have supposed that the movement, somehow or other, was dependent rather upon the enormous exertions of the uneasy mandarin than upon the power of the little puffing locomotive, which was so easily performing its work.

Although the Japanese authorities were still very jealous of any intercourse on the part of the Americans with the people, and did all they could to prevent it, still there was necessarily a good deal of intermingling. The ships of the squadron were being daily supplied with water and provisions, for which the officials of the government had now consented to receive payment, but they insisted upon conducting all the regulations, and provided their own boats and laborers for the purpose. There was, however, what with the necessary passing to and from the ships with the supplies, and the arranging and working the telegraphic apparatus, and the toy railway, almost daily intercourse between the American officers, sailors, and marines, and the Japanese mandarins, officials, and laborers.

The Japanese always evinced an inordinate curiosity, for the gratification of which the various articles of strange fabric, and the pieces of mechanism; of ingenious and novel invention, brought from the United States, gave them a full opportunity. They were not satisfied with the minutest examination of all these things, so surprisingly wonderful as they appeared to them, but followed the officers and men about and seized upon every occasion to examine each part of their dress. The laced caps, boots, swords, and tailed coats of the officers, the tarpaulins, jackets, and trousers of the men, all came in for the closest scrutiny, and a tailor in search of a new cut or a latest fashion could not have been more exacting in his observations than the inquisitive Japanese as he fingered the broadcloth, smoothed down the nap with his long delicate hands, pulled a lappel here, adjusted a collar there, now fathomed the depth of a pocket, and again peered curiously into the inner recesses of Jack's loose toilette. They eagerly sought to possess themselves of anything that pertained to the dress of their visitors, and showed a peculiar passion for buttons. They would again and again ask for a button, and when presented with the cheap gift, they appeared immediately gratified, and stowed it away as if it were of the greatest value. It is possible that their affection for buttons and high appreciation of their value, may be owing to the rarity of the article in Japan, for it is a curious fact, that the simple convenience of a button is but little used in any article of Japanese dress, strings and various bindings being the only mode of fastening the garments. When visiting the ships the mandarins and their attendants were never at rest, but went about peering into every nook and corner, peeping into the muzzles of the small-arms, examining curiously the engine-room, and watching every movement of the engines. They were not content with their eyes, but were constantly taking out their writing materials, their mulberry-bark paper, and their Indian ink and hair pencils, which they always carried in a pocket within the left breast of their loose robes, and making notes and sketches. The Japanese had all apparently a strong pictorial taste, and looked with great delight upon the engravings and pictures which were shown them, but their own performances appeared exceedingly rude and unartistic. Every man, however, seemed

ALANES' SOPIERS AT YOKUHAMA



anxious to try his skill at drawing, and they were constantly taking the portraits of the Americans, and sketches of the various articles that appeared curious to them, with a result, which, however satisfactory it might have been to the artists, (and it must be conceded they exhibited no little exultation,) was far from showing any encouraging advance in art. It should, however, be remarked, that the artists were not professional. Our future pages will show more artistic skill than the rude specimens here alluded to would have led one to suppose existed in Japan. The Japanese are, undoubtedly, like the Chinese, a very imitative, adaptive, and compliant people, and in these characteristics may be discovered a promise of the comparatively easy introduction of foreign customs and habits, if not of the nobler principles and better life of a higher civilization.

Notwithstanding the Japanese are so fond of indulging their curiosity, they are by no means communicative about themselves. They allege, as a reason for their provoking reserve, that their laws forbid them to communicate to foreigners anything relating to their country and its institutions, habits, and customs. This silence on the part of the Japanese was a serious obstacle to requiring that minute information about a strange people of whom curiosity is naturally on the alert to know everything. Much progress will, however, never be obtained toward a thorough knowledge of Japan, until some of our men of intelligence are established in the country in the character of consular agents, merchants, or missionaries, who may thus be enabled to acquire the language and mingle in intimate social relations with the people.

The common people were found much more disposed to fraternize than were the Japanese officials. It seemed evident that nothing but a fear of punishment deterred the former from entering into free intercourse with the Americans, but they were closely watched by their superiors, as in fact the latter were by their equals.

In Japan, as in *Lew Chew*, probably, a closer intimacy would have ensued, during the visits of the squadron, with all classes, if they had been allowed to follow their own natural inclinations, and had not been so jealously guarded by the numerous spies. No one, even of the highest dignitaries, is entrusted with public business of importance, without having one or more associated with him, who is ever on the alert to detect and take note of the slightest suspicion of delinquency.

Kura Kawa Kahiei, the prefect, and Yenoske, the interpreter, paid almost daily visits to the ships, and had always something to communicate in regard to the supplying of the vessels with water and fresh provisions, the arrangements for which were under their especial care. When they came on board, as they were subordinate dignitaries, they were not received by the Commodore himself, but by some of his chief officers, who were delegated for the purpose, and acted as his medium of communication with them. After one of these interviews, (March 14,) as Kura Kawa and Yenoske were about taking leave, a Japanese official hurried aboard from Kanagawa, and, in a state of considerable excitement, reported that an American officer had passed through that town, and was walking very fast toward Yedo. His appearance, so said the messenger, was causing great excitement, and it was feared that unpleasant consequences might ensue. The Japanese officials, on hearing this, declared that the conduct of the American officer was in violation of their laws and of the promises made to them by the Admiral. The Commodore, when informed of the fact, directed guns to be fired immediately, and a signal made recalling all boats and officers to their respective ships. He also prepared written orders, which were sent in different directions, commanding all persons belonging to the squadron to

repair immediately on board. A copy of these orders was, on the instant, dispatched by the Japanese officials, then in the Powhatan, in pursuit of the American officer, reported to be on his way to Yedo. The Commodore's prompt action was handsomely acknowledged by the authorities, who sent to him, next day, a formal expression of their gratitude.

The American officer, whose intrusion had created so great an excitement, was Mr. Bittinger, the chaplain of the steamer *Susquehanna*. While taking a walk on shore, this gentleman's curiosity prompted him to extend his observations somewhat beyond the usual circuit of some four or five miles, within which the Japanese authorities had contracted the movements of their visitors. Starting from Yokohama, opposite to where the squadron was anchored, the enterprising investigator pushed on to the town of Kanagawa, some three miles further up the bay, where he was accosted by some of the Japanese officials and the interpreter, Gohatsiro, who urgently solicited him to return. He was not, however, to be so easily balked of his purpose, and continued his journey, followed by the Japanese officers, who dogged his steps at every turn until he reached Kamasaki. Here there was a river to cross, and he tried to prevail upon the Japanese boatmen to ferry him to the opposite side, but they refused in spite of bribes and threats, in the course of which the chaplain, if the Japanese accounts are to be believed, drew his sword. He now pursued his way higher up the river with the hope of finding a place that might be forded, and had just reached a very promising looking crossing, the depths of which he was about trying, when the messenger, who had hurried in rapid dispatch, from the steamer *Powhatan* accosted him with the written order of the Commodore. "He," thus reported the Japanese authorities, with their usual minuteness of description, "read it, walked four steps further, read it again, then suddenly returned and intimated his intention of going back to the ship." The chaplain, in the course of his wanderings, had an opportunity of seeing one of the largest towns of Japan, that of Kanagawa, which, with its numerous wide streets, and its crowded population, had quite an imposing appearance. He penetrated into several of the dwellings and temples, and, by his pertinacious perseverance, succeeded in obtaining, in one of the shops, some Japanese money in exchange for American coin. The native authorities seemed particularly worried in regard to this last matter, as it was so great an offence against their laws. The Japanese, in their report of the occurrence, stated that the American officer had gone into a shop by the roadside and asked the keeper to allow him to see some coins. The Japanese shopman complied with the request, but as he seemed somewhat chary in the display of his treasure the chaplain insisted upon seeing more, which demand was also granted. Scales were now asked for, which being brought the chaplain took out some silver pieces, and weighing them in one balance against the Japanese gold and silver coins, mixed indiscriminately in a heap, in the other, transferred the latter to his pockets and left his American coin to console the shopman for the loss of his Japanese change. The authorities further reported that the chaplain was not content with gentle exhortations and mild persuasions, but had used threatening gestures, in which his drawn sword had figured conspicuously. They, however, mildly and courteously added in their report, "that they supposed that it was with no intention to do harm, but for his own amusement." There was a gentle and graceful charity in the suggestion of an apology for the conduct of the American officer, which showed an example in beautiful accordance with the precepts of the faith of the intruder, and well worthy of imitation. On the next day *Yenoske* brought back the sum of three dollars and a half in American silver coin, which had been left in compulsory exchange with the Japanese

shopman, and stated that six pieces of gold, six of silver, and the same number of copper, were in possession of the chaplain Yenoske requested that the Japanese money should be returned, and was told it should be restored

The day appointed for the conference, on sh re, with the Commodore (March 16) proved very stormy, and, accordingly, the interview was postponed until the next morning In the meantime, a communication had been received from the commissioners, in answer to several notes of the Commodore, in regard to a proposed treaty with Japan, on the basis of that between the United States and China

Note from the Japanese Commissioners to Commodore Perry

At our personal interview, on the 8th, you presented us a paper in which the President's views were expressed, and, on the 11th, we received a reply to our letter, in which the same views were given as at the interview in relation to the commerce your country now has with China, both of which we have carefully examined, and learn that you wish to ascertain whether we are ready to adopt the same that the Chinese have The burden of that which you presented on the 8th is similar to that which was sought in the President's letter, and you gave it, to learn whether we would adopt it or not In our letter, it was plainly stated that our Emperor had but lately acceded to his throne, and all the numerous affairs of government required to be quietly settled, and that he had no leisure for extraneous negotiations Consequently, he last autumn sent, through the superintendent of the Dutch shipping, to make this known to you, for you to communicate it to the United States

Among those points which you now propose for adoption, the two items of extending succor and protection to the distressed and wrecked vessels on our coast, and of furnishing coal to passing ships and supplying provisions and other necessaries to those who may be in need of them, are founded in reason, and ought to be granted without hesitation But as to opening a trade, such as is now carried on with China by your country, we certainly cannot yet bring it about The feelings and manners of our people are very unlike those of other nations, and it will be exceedingly difficult, even if you wish it, to immediately change the old regulations for those of other countries Moreover, the Chinese have long had intercourse with western nations, while we have had dealings at Nagasaki with only the people of Holland and China Beside them, it mattered not for us to trade with those of any other land, and this has made our exchange of commodities very small

The ships of your country must, therefore, begin your trade at Nagasaki during the first moon of our next year, where they can procure fuel, water, coal, and other things, but as our ideas of things, and what we each like, are still very dissimilar, as are also our notions of the prices or worth of things, this makes it indispensable that we both first make a mutual trial and examination, and then, after five years, we can open another port for trade, which will be convenient for your ships when passing

The points of the treaty you have now presented for our deliberation, and this now given to you can be retained by each as evidence of our separate views

KATEI, 7th year, 2d moon, 17th day (March 15, 1854)

HAYASHI
IDO
IZAWA
UDONO

The next day, (March 17th,) the Commodore, accompanied by his interpreters, secretary, and two or three of his officers, met the commissioners at the treaty house, and after some preliminary compliments in regard to the presents, he was conducted as before from the hall of reception to the inner room of conference. The Commodore, on the present occasion, had dispensed with the military display, and much of the ceremony of the former visit, (which, as we have intimated in a previous chapter, was merely for effect,) as had the Japanese commissioners, although the negotiations were carried on with the usual formalities.

Havashi, the chief dignitary, opened the day's business by asking whether the Commodore was satisfied with the Japanese propositions for a treaty, which had been sent on the previous day, alluding to those embodied in the note printed above. The Commodore having replied that their communication was not accompanied with a Dutch translation, the Japanese presented one immediately, and the discussion began. The various propositions of the Japanese, and the answers have been thus formularised.

PROPOSITIONS OF JAPANESE COMMISSIONERS, WITH REPLIES OF COMMODORE PERRY

First Japanese proposition

From the next first month, wood, water, provisions, coal, and other things, the productions of this country, that American ships may need, can be had at Nagasaki, and after five years from this, a port in another principality shall be opened for ships to go to.

NOTE—Those articles to be charged at the same prices that are charged to the Dutch and Chinese, and to be paid for in gold and silver coin.

Commodore Perry's reply

Agreed to, but one or more ports must be substituted for Nagasaki, as that is out of the route of American commerce, and the time for the opening of the ports to be agreed upon must be immediate, or within a space of sixty days. The manner of paying for articles received shall be arranged by treaty.

Second Japanese proposition

Upon whatever part of the coast people may be shipwrecked, those people and their property shall be sent to Nagasaki by sea.

NOTE—When, after five years shall have expired, and another harbor shall be opened, those shipwrecked men will be sent either there or to Nagasaki, as may be most convenient.

Commodore Perry's reply

Agreed to, excepting as to the port to which the shipwrecked men are to be carried.

Third Japanese proposition

It being impossible for us to ascertain who are pirates and who are not, such men shall not be allowed to walk about wherever they please.

Commodore Perry's reply

Shipwrecked men and others who may resort to the ports of Japan are not to be confined, and shall enjoy all the freedom granted to Japanese, and be subject to no further restraints. They shall, however, be held amenable to just laws or such as may be agreed upon by treaty.

It is altogether inconsistent with justice, that persons thrown by the providence of God upon the shores of a friendly nation should be looked upon and treated as pirates, before any proof shall be given of their being so, and the continuance of the treatment which has hitherto been visited upon strangers will no longer be tolerated by the government of the United States, so far as Americans are concerned

Fourth Japanese proposition

At Nagasaki they shall have no intercourse with the Dutch and Chinese

Commodore Perry's reply

The Americans will never submit to the restrictions which have been imposed upon the Dutch and Chinese, and any further allusion to such restraints will be considered offensive

Fifth Japanese proposition

After the other port is opened, if there be any other sort of articles wanted, or business which requires to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle them

Commodore Perry's reply

Agreed to, so far as it applies to ports other than Nagasaki

Sixth Japanese proposition

Lew Chew is a very distant country, and the opening of its harbor cannot be discussed by us.

Commodore Perry's reply

As there can be no good reason why the Americans should not communicate freely with Lew Chew, this point is insisted on

Seventh Japanese proposition

Matsmai is also a very distant country, and belongs to its prince, this cannot be settled now, but a definite answer on this subject shall be given when the ships are expected next spring

Commodore Perry's reply

The same with respect to the port of Matsmai, for our whaling-ships, steamers, and other vessels.

These propositions and replies were consecutively discussed, the commissioners interposing with great pertinacity all possible difficulties, and contending that the laws of the Empire were of such a character as positively forbade the concessions demanded. They insisted that Nagasaki was the place set apart for strangers, they stated that the inhabitants and authorities of that city had been trained to enforce the laws with respect to foreigners, and declared that

if the Americans were to have another port assigned to them, five years would be required to make similar preparations. The Commodore replied that the fact of Nagasaki having been especially appropriated to foreigners was one of the grounds of his objections to it, that its inhabitants and authorities, having been so long accustomed to the servility of the Dutch, would doubtless exact more from the Americans than they would be inclined to submit to, and serious consequences might follow. Moreover, the Commodore declared that he desired it to be well understood that his countrymen visiting Japan must be free from all those oppressive laws which have been hitherto imposed upon strangers. In a word, he declared emphatically that he would not think of accepting Nagasaki as one of the ports.

The Commodore then informed the commissioners that he should expect, in the course of time, five ports to be opened to the American flag. He would, however, he said, be content for the present with three—one on the island of Nippon, say either Uraga or Kagosima, another in Yesso, suggesting Matsmai, and a third in Lew Chew, that of Napha. In regard to the remaining two he was willing to defer all discussion to some future time.

After many evasions, and their usual protestations of legal difficulties, they at last answered that, as the Commodore positively refused to accept Nagasaki, and as they themselves objected to Uraga, that Simoda accordingly was formally proposed. In regard to Lew Chew, the commissioners declared that, as it was a distant dependency, over which the Emperor of Japan had but limited control, they could entertain no proposition. And as for Matsmai, that also stood in similar relations to the Japanese government.

Notwithstanding all these objections, the Commodore still persisted in his demands, as he had always to be on his guard against the deceitful diplomacy of the people with whom he was negotiating. Finding that the Commodore was resolute, and that all their cunning devices to bend him from his purpose were of no avail, the commissioners proposed to consider the matter, and retired to another apartment for private consultation. After an absence of an hour they returned and reported as the result of their deliberations that a longer time would be required before their decision could be given in regard to the opening of Matsmai. They remarked, in addition, that it was not in the power of the Emperor to grant the use of this port without consulting the prince under whose hereditary right it was governed, and that to do this would require a year, at the expiration of which time they would be prepared to give a reply. The Commodore then told them that he could not leave Japan without an answer of some kind, and that if the prince to whom they referred was an independent sovereign, he would go himself to Matsmai and negotiate with him.

This point was finally settled for the time by the Japanese saying that they would give a definite answer on Thursday, the twenty third of March. In regard to Simoda, it was agreed that the Commodore should dispatch one or more vessels to that port, and the commissioners a Japanese officer of rank to meet them, in order that the harbor might be examined, and its fitness for the required purposes determined, it having been clearly understood that if it did not answer the expectations of the Americans in all respects, another place, somewhere in the southern part of Nippon, would be insisted on. The *Vandana* and *Southampton* were accordingly dispatched, on the twentieth of March, to examine the harbor of Simoda.

The day after the conference on shore, Moryama Yenoske, the chief interpreter, accompanied by two Japanese officials, came on board the *Powhatan* and submitted a paper, in the Dutch language, containing a report by the Japanese themselves of the propositions made by the

Commodore, and it proved that the commissioners were perfectly cognizant of his views * On the occasion of this visit Yenoske asked for the Japanese coins which had been obtained by the chaplain of the *Susquehanna* in the course of his wanderings on shore, and they were delivered to him On the interpreter and his companions taking leave, presents were given to them, as they had been also to the commissioners after the last interview at the treaty house These gifts consisted of Colt's pistols, and various articles of American manufacture of no great value

On one of these visits, which were regularly kept up almost without the intermission of a single day, the Japanese officials were asked what had been the result of the expedition of the Russians to Nagasaki? They replied that no treaty of any kind whatever had been made with them, but they had been told that the Emperor had so many affairs to dispose of that their propositions could not be entertained at that time, although, perhaps, in the course of a few years, circumstances might be more favorable for negotiation This they declared was the constant answer to their repeated demands The Russians had been, however, supplied with wood, water, and provisions One of the chief objects of their visit, said the Japanese, was to define with precision the frontier of Yesso

On the twenty third of March the usual deputation visited the Powhatan, bearing with them the final answer of the commissioners in regard to the opening of the port of Matsmai The document presented was written in the Japanese, Chinese, and Dutch languages, of the latter of which the following is a translation

'Ships of the United States of North America, in want of provisions, wood, and water, shall be supplied in the harbor of 'Hakodadi, as has been desired Some time will be required to make preparations, inasmuch as this harbor is very distant, consequently a commencement can be made the 7th month of next year, (the 17th September, 1855) Kaei Sitzinen Nigoats (March 23, 1854)

"Seals attached by order of the high gentlemen

"MORYAMA YENOSKE

* This Japanese report is curious as an evidence of the precision with which the commissioners conducted the negotiations, and of the exactitude with which their reporter who was constantly present noted the proceedings of the conference:

Japanese statement of points agreed upon in the interview of Commodore Perry with the Japanese commissioners March 17, 1854

1st. The citizens of the United States will not submit to degradations like those imposed upon the Dutch and Chinese, in the confinement at Nagasaki; that place is not convenient for ships to resort to and does not answer the purpose

2d. *Lew Chew* is a very distant country and a definite answer cannot be given

3d. *Matsmai* is a very distant place and belongs to a prince This point cannot be settled now; some time will be required for negotiation until the first month of our next year; because the concurrence of the central government and of the prince of that country are both necessary to effect a result a negotiation of the admiral with that prince therefore would be to no purpose

It was stated that an answer had better be given at once There was time enough to have that harbor opened by the above-mentioned time; that it was not probable that in the first year that harbor would be resorted to by many ships because some time would be required to communicate the decision of the government and to have it generally known

In consideration thereof it was agreed that a final answer should be given on the 23d of March (the 7th of the Japanese month)

It being mentioned that, besides *Lew Chew* and *Matsmai* more harbors in Yesso would be required it was suggested that the harbor of *Somoda* could be opened for the ships of the United States and agreed that two ships of the squadron would sail on the 19th of March to make a survey of that harbor and further that some Japanese officers to go by land would arrive at that place on the 2d instant and that the captains of those ships would await the arrival of those officers before proceeding to survey the port

That ships wrecked men should meet with kind treatment and be free as in other countries.

Agreement made upon due consideration

The Commodore assented to the proposition of the commissioners assigning the port of Hakodadi, which was near the city of Matsmai, and was reported to have a better harbor, on the condition that, on examination, it proved equal to the favorable description given of it. He, however, expressed his desire that it should be opened at an earlier date than that proposed.

This concession of Hakodadi betokened a favorable prospect for a successful issue to the great purpose of the expedition; and the Commodore now looked forward with sanguine expectations to an early consummation of his labors in the formation of a satisfactory treaty.



Japanese grave-yard at Yoku hama.—Grave of the Marine on the right.

CHAPTER XX.

CORDIALITY BETWEEN JAPANESE AND AMERICANS—PRESENTS FROM THE JAPANESE.—COINS—SINGULAR CUSTOM OF INCLUDING RICE, CHARCOAL, AND DOGS, IN A ROYAL JAPANESE PRESENT.—JAPANESE WRESTLERS—THEIR IMMENSE SIZE AND STRENGTH—EXHIBITION IN THE RING—CONTRAST IN THE EXHIBITION OF THE TELEGRAPH AND LOCOMOTIVE—PARADE OF THE MARINES—YENOSUKE VISITS THE FLAG-SHIP, AND SEEKS TO DRAW THE COMMODORE OUT—FAILURE.—ENTERTAINMENT OF CHINESE COMMISSIONERS ON BOARD THE FLAG-SHIP—GREAT CORDIALITY—PERFORMANCE ON SHIP BOARD OF "ETHIOPIAN MINSTRELS" TO THE GREAT AMUSEMENT OF THE JAPANESE.—NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED—JAPANESE OBJECT TO THE IMMEDIATE OPENING OF THE PORTS—FINALLY CONCEDE THE POINT TO A CERTAIN EXTENT—ABSOLUTE AND PERSISTENT REFUSAL TO ALLOW AMERICANS PERMANENTLY TO ABIDE IN JAPAN—RELUCTANT CONSENT, AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION, TO ALLOW ONE CONSUL TO RESIDE AT SIMODA.—TREATY FINALLY AGREED ON AND SIGNED—PRESENTS BY COMMODORE TO THE COMMISSIONERS, THAT TO THE CHIEF BEING THE AMERICAN FLAG.—ENTERTAINMENT OF THE COMMODORE AND HIS OFFICERS BY THE COMMISSIONERS.—PECULIARITIES OF THE MISSION TO JAPAN—OBSTACLES TO MAKING ANY TREATY AT ALL.—DISPOSITION OF THE JAPANESE SHOWN IN THE CONFERENCES.—PARTICULAR REFUSAL TO MAKE A TREATY ALLOWING AMERICAN FAMILIES OR FEMALES TO LIVE IN JAPAN—ANALYSIS OF THE TREATY—COMMODORE CAREFUL TO SECURE FOR THE UNITED STATES ALL PRIVILEGES THAT MIGHT THEREAFTER BE GRANTED BY TREATY TO OTHER NATIONS.—CASE OF THE AMERICAN SCHOONER FOOTE

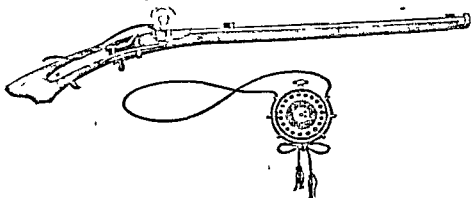


AFTER the concessions made by the Japanese, related in the last chapter, the greatest good feeling prevailed on both sides, and there seemed every prospect of establishing those national relations which had been the purpose of Commodore Perry's mission. In accordance with the harmony and friendship which existed, there was an interchange of those courtesies by which mutual good feeling seeks an outward expression. The Japanese had acknowledged, with courtly thanks, the presents which had been bestowed on behalf of the government, and now, on the 24th of March, invited the Commodore to receive the various gifts which had been ordered by the Emperor in return, as a public recognition of the courtesy of the

United States

The Commodore, accordingly, landed at Yokohama, with a suite of officers and his interpreters, and was received at the treaty house, with the usual ceremonies, by the high commissioners. The large reception room was crowded with the various presents. The red-covered settees, the numerous tables and stands, and even the floors, were heaped with the different articles. The objects were of Japanese manufacture, and consisted of specimens of rich brocades and silks, of their famous lacquered ware, such as *chow-chow* boxes, tables, trays, and goblets, all skilfully wrought and finished with an exquisite polish, of porcelain cups of wonderful lightness and transparency, adorned with figures and flowers in gold and variegated colors, and exhibiting a workmanship which surpassed even that of the ware for which the Chinese are remarkable. Fans, pipe-cases, and articles of apparel in ordinary use, of no great value, but of exceeding interest, were scattered in among the more luxurious and costly objects.

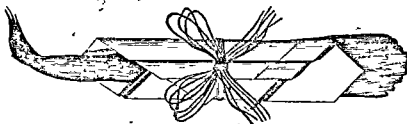
With the usual order and neatness which seem almost instinctive with the Japanese, the various presents had been arranged in lots, and classified in accordance with the rank of those for whom they were respectively intended. The commissioners took their position at the further end of the room, and when the Commodore and his suite entered, the ordinary compliments having been interchanged, the Prince Hayashi read aloud, in Japanese, the list of presents, and the names of the persons to whom they were to be given. This was then translated by Yenoske into Dutch, and by Mr. Portman into English. This ceremony being over, the Commodore was invited by the commissioners into the inner room, where he was presented with two complete sets of Japanese coins, three matchlocks, and two swords. These gifts, though of no great intrinsic value, were very significant evidences of the desire of the Japanese to express their respect for the representative of the United States. The mere bestowal of the coins, in direct opposition to the Japanese laws, which forbid, absolutely, all issue of their money beyond the Kingdom, was an act of marked favor.



Japanese Match-lock.

As the Commodore prepared to depart, the commissioners said that there was one article intended for the President which had not yet been exhibited. They accordingly conducted the Commodore and his officers to the beach, where one or two hundred sacks of rice were pointed out, heaped up in readiness to be sent on board the ships. As that immense supply of substantial food seemed to excite some wonder on the part of the Americans, Yenoske, the interpreter, remarked that it was always customary with the Japanese, when bestowing royal presents, to include a certain quantity of rice, although he did not say whether that quantity always amounted, as on the present occasion, to hundreds of immense sacks.*

* The Commodore, upon subsequent inquiry, learned that there are three articles which, in Japan, as he understood, always form part of an Imperial present. These are rice, dried fish, and dogs.



Fish Present of Japan

[What is seen protruding at either end of the paper cover is a species of dried sea weed, used as food. This is placed upon it, and covered by the paper.]

the mouth of the harbor, but soon after took her position within, in the neighborhood of the wharves. The *Vandalia*, *Southampton Supply*, and *Lexington* were found anchored there. The Commodore had purposely dispatched the several ships in succession in order to enable those which arrived first, time for examining the harbor and selecting convenient anchoring places for their consorts which were to follow. This turned out to be a well timed precaution. The *Southampton* in warping into the inner harbor came upon a rock lying in the middle of the channel with only twelve feet of water upon it at low water, a danger which had escaped the hasty examination of the surveyors. If it had not been for this timely discovery, one or both the steamers would have probably struck upon the rock, as it lies directly in the way and is all the more dangerous from its being only thirty feet in diameter, and cone-like in shape. Lieutenant Commandant Boyle had very prudently placed a buoy upon it which enabled the steamers to avoid the danger and pass in without inconvenience although the channel at that point is only six hundred yards wide. Both steamers found sufficient room to moor without interfering with the *Southampton* and *Supply*, already in the inner harbor. The *Lexington* subsequently came in also and anchored, but Captain Loeper referred a position further out for his ship, the *Vandalia*.



View from the Town.

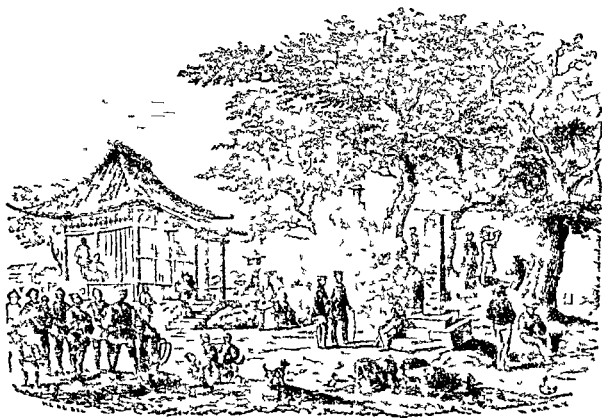
There can be no better harbor than that of Simoda for a limited number of vessels when its contingency to the sea, its easy and safe approach, its convenience of moorage at all seasons are considered. It is, therefore, says Commodore Perry, "the best and most favorable port could have been selected to answer all the purposes for which it is wanted."

The town of Simoda or Simoda is on the island of Suruga Bay at the mouth of the lower bay or gulf of Yedo. Latitude 34° 49' north, longitude 140° 37' 0" east. It is within the

prefecture of Kamo, one of the eight, into which Idzu is divided, and occupies the southern termination of that principality. The town is situated at the western end of the harbor, on a plain at the opening of a fertile valley. Its name is probably derived from its low position, *Simoda*, meaning *Low field*. Through the valley a small stream, called Inodzu Gawa, flows, and empties at the town into the harbor. This river is navigable for the flat bottomed boats, which are used by the inhabitants for transporting stone, timber, grain, and other produce.

The country surrounding the town is extremely picturesque and varied. Undulating hills, covered with trees and verdure, rise from the water's edge and extend back into the lofty mountains, rock ribbed and bare.

Valleys divide the mountain ranges, with their richly cultivated fields and gardens, stretching up to the very summit of the hill sides. Streams of water, shaded with groves, wind through the level bottoms, and beautify and enrich the land. The snow-capped Fusi is visible in the distance, pointing its cone-like summit high into the clouds, and far above the elevation of the blue mountains which surround it. On entering the harbor, the town, with its groups of low houses, does not present a very imposing appearance, but, with its back ground of hills, wooded with spreading pines and yew trees, and the verdant valleys which open between them, it has an air of sheltered repose, and an appearance of secluded rusticity which are quite attractive.



Land of Idzu at Simoda.

Simoda is said to be the largest town in the principality of Idzu, and was at one time a mart of considerable importance. It was founded centuries ago, and some two hundred years since, was the port of entry for vessels bound to the capital, but Uraga, further up the bay, having

ready for the latter operation in the middle of June, and these crops succeed each other year after year. During the winter, part of the rice fields, that which lies low, is left fallow, while the terraces are turned into wheat fields. In preparing the fields for the reception of the young shoots of rice, they are overflowed with water, and then reduced by ploughing and harrowing into a soft well mixed mud. Subsequently, a substratum of grass and small bushes is trodden down below the surface by the feet. The laborer putting on a couple of broad pieces of wood, like a pair of snow shoes, goes tramping over the grass and bushes, laboring until they all disappear below the surface of the mud. This operation over, the small plants are transferred from the plot where they have been sown, to the fields, where they are allowed to remain until maturity. The rice crop is ready for harvesting in the latter part of September or early in the ensuing month. Oxen and horses are occasionally used in agricultural operations, but the labor is mostly performed by hand.

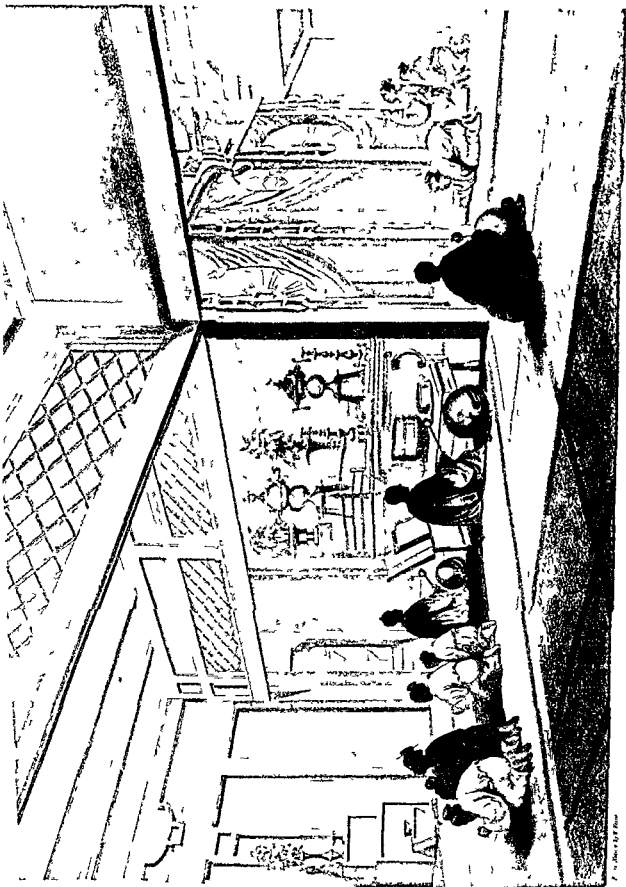
Whatever may be the moral character of the inhabitants of Simoda, it might be supposed, from the great number of places of worship, that they are a highly devotional people. Though the peculiar religions of the Japanese seem to be sustained in a flourishing condition, the people are rather remarkable for their toleration of all kinds of worship, except that of the Christian, for which, in consequence of the political intrigues of the Roman priesthood, centuries ago, they have an intense hatred, carefully inculcated by those in authority, who keep alive the traditional enmity engendered at the epoch when the Portuguese were expelled the Empire. The Buddhist and Sintoo worships are those most prevalent in Japan, and the lower classes are strict but formal devotees, while it is suspected that the higher and better educated are indifferent to all religions, and entertain various speculative opinions, or seek refuge in a broad skepticism.

There are no less than nine Buddhist temples, one large *Mia*, or Sintoo temple, and a great number of smaller shrines. Those devoted to the worship of Buddha have strange fanciful titles: the largest is called *Rio-shen zhi*, or Buddha's obedient monastery, and there are *Dai-an zhi*, or great peace monastery, the *Hon gaku zhi*, or source of knowledge monastery, the *Too-den zhi*, or rice field monastery, the *Fuku zhen zhi*, or fountain of happiness monastery, the *Chio-raku zhi*, or continual joy monastery, the *Ri gen zhi*, or source of reason monastery, and lastly, the *Chio me zhi*, or long life monastery. Twenty five priests and a few acolytes are attached to these temples, and are supported by fees bestowed by devotees for burial services, and the various offices peculiar to Buddhism. The buildings are of wood, and although generally kept in tolerable repair, show the effects of weather upon the unpainted surface. The roofs are tiled and project, as in the houses, beyond the walls. The posts which support the superstructure are, together with the rest of the wood work, covered with the famous Japanese lacquer. The floors, which are raised four or five feet above the ground, are neatly covered with matting. At the door of the main apartment there is a drum on the left and a bell on the right, the former of which is beaten, and the latter tingled, at the commencement of worship, to awaken the attention of the monks to the prayers of the devout. Between the door and the central shrine there are several low lecterns, or reading desks, near each of which there is conveniently placed a piece of wood carved in the shape of a fish, which is used to beat time during the chanting, which forms an important part of the religious services.

The shrine, in which are arranged the ancestral tablets, in niches, seems to be an object of particular attention, for it was kept always in perfect order, and the monuments and idols were



DEVOTIONS IN THE GREAT TEMPLE, SINODA



not allowed to suffer from want of repair or of a decent regard to cleanliness. The sculpture of the various images was no better in art or more imposing in appearance than the ordinary figures of *Joss* in the Chinese temples. An occasional picture is hung up as a votive offering upon the walls, representing, rather rudely, some event in the life of the worshipper, in the course of which he had reason, as he properly believed, to be grateful for the services of Buddha or some of his numerous progeny or subordinate deities. Certain boxes, distributed about the temple, remind the Christian visitor of the duties of charity, and he thinks with a pious recollection of the claims of the poor, which are suggested by a practice similar to that in the old churches of his own faith. His charitable feelings however, are suddenly repelled when he learns the object of the boxes, for the label upon them reads 'For feeding hungry demons,' and the promise which follows that, his merit will be consolidated, is hardly inducement enough to contribute toward the necessities of the devil, or any of his voracious legion. In front of some of the temples pillars are found upon which are inscribed an edict forbidding any liquors or meats to be carried within the sacred precincts.

Connected with each monastery is a grave-yard, in which there is a great variety of monuments and tombstones. They are generally made of a greenstone found in the neighborhood of Simoda, and have the various forms of simple slabs, raised tombs, and obelisks. Among the



Grave-yard and Temple at Simoda.

monuments are distributed statues of Buddha varying in size from the largeness of life to that of only a foot or less. They are represented in various attitudes: some erect and others in a sitting posture, while many are carved in relief upon slabs of stone, where Buddha is seen

issuing from an opening shell, and is figured sometimes with his hands clasped, or holding a lotus flower, a fly trap, or some other symbol. A pleasant feature in the aspect of the otherwise gloomy burial places, disfigured by the coarse and grotesque art of a corrupt superstition, is the abundance of flowers which are plentifully distributed about. These are placed, freshly culled from day to day, in cups and troughs of water, which are deposited before the tombs and idols. Offerings of other kinds are also frequently found near the various statues of Buddha and his kindred deities.

The tombs and monuments, as with us, are inscribed with epitaphs, but such is the moisture of the climate, that they are soon covered with moss and rendered illegible. Some of the fresher ones, however, could be deciphered, and it was observed that, as in our own practice, the rank, merits, and date of death of deceased, were usually recorded. That the good deeds of the departed may live after them, there is often a summary of their meritorious works during life, among which we read that some have recited one thousand, two thousand, and even three thousand volumes of the canonical books, an amount of pious performance which entitles them, say the eulogistic Japanese epitaphs, to heavenly felicity. An invocation, "Oh, wonderful Buddha!" generally prefaces the inscriptions. In the grave-yard of the Rio-shen zhi, there is a sort of pantomimic record of the deceased, where, in a fenced enclosure of bamboo, there is a sepulchre of two personages of rank. Their statues and those of their families and servants are represented as if holding an audience, which indicates the rank of the deceased.

Near the recent graves and tombs narrow boards or wooden posts are placed, on which extracts from the canonical books are written, exhorting the living to add to their stock of good works by diligently repeating the pages of those excellent volumes, or vicariously performing that necessary duty, by getting the priests to do it for them, and not neglecting to pay the customary charges. The canonical books supply many of the other inscriptions with various quotations, aptly chosen to extol the felicity of the departed, or to inculcate the shortness of life and the vanity of this world, one of the latter, when translated, read thus

What permanency is there to the glory of the world?
It goes from the sight like hoar frost before the sun
If men wish to enter the joys of heavenly light
Let them smell a little of the fragrance of Buddha's canon

Another was this "Whoever wishes to have his merit reach even to the abode of the demons, let him with us, and all living, become perfect in the doctrine. And again "The wise will make our halls illustrious and the monuments endure for long ages." To them all was added a significant hint, that these hopes and aspirations were to be secured in their objects by the prompt payment of the contributions levied on the living. At Yoku hama, in addition to these various Japanese inscriptions, there were boards upon which were written charms in the Tibetan or complicated Chinese characters, the purport of which the writers themselves do not profess to understand, but all appeared to believe they were effectual in warding off malignant demons from disturbing the dead.

The nine Buddhist temples are all situated in the suburbs, back of the town, and on the acclivities or summits of the hills, which bound them in the rear, there are shrines and pavilions erected within groves of trees, which are approached by a flight of stone steps. In the interior of these pavilions and shrines are rude images, or merely inscriptions, dedicated to the tutelary deities of the spot. Their purpose is to afford facility to those living near, or to

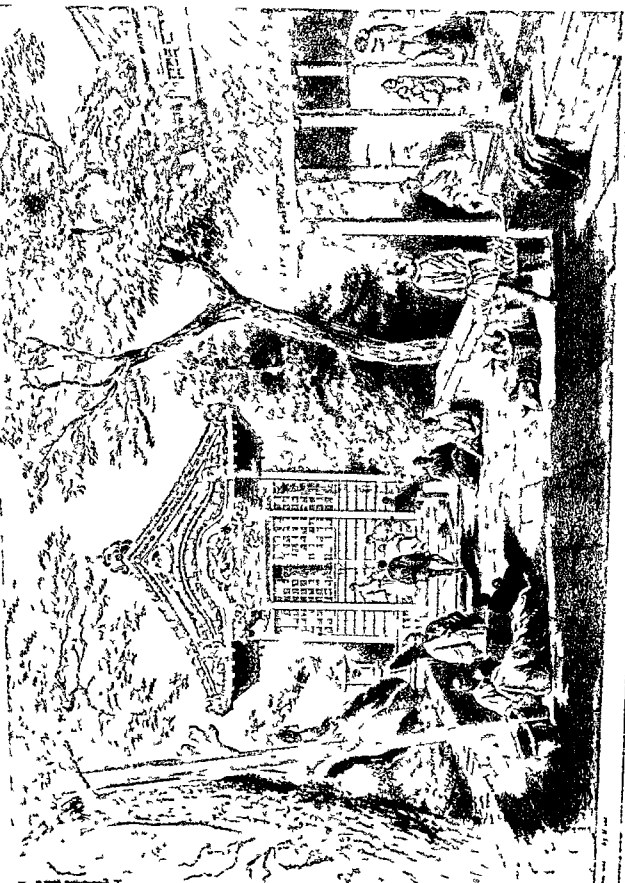


the deified hero to whom the temple is dedicated. Standing in a niche, on either side, is the figure of an attendant dressed in ancient Japanese official costume, armed with a bow, as if awaiting the orders, as in life, of their superior. Before the god-like Hachiman there is the usual variety of devotional offerings. A large number of paintings of no great artistic skill, a frame containing the representation of a pagoda constructed of copper cash, a sword, bow and arrows, and a subscription list of at least thirty feet in length, hung from the walls of the shrine. This gigantic subscription list contains the names and donation of the contributors towards the expenses of the temple services. The Japanese priests find, we suppose, as we fear it is sometimes found elsewhere, that an imposing display of the munificence of their benefactors is a useful reminder of duty to the benevolent, and a great encouragement of generosity. The idol of Hachiman is honored annually with a festival, termed *matzouri*, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, when the subscribers are expected to pay up the amount of their contributions, for which their names are down upon the enormous list. Before the image there is a box provided for the alms of those who are too modest to publish their names, or whose donations are too small to make much of a figure on paper.

As the Japanese structures are unpainted, the wood work soon turns brown and decays, requiring frequent repair and removal. There is always a sort of guardian or superintendent living on the premises, whose duty it is to keep in order the temple and grounds, and most of them are creditable evidences of the care of the overseers. There are, however, some of these establishments which show either a careless superintendence or a low state of the exchequer, for several show signs of ruin and neglect.

In addition to the one great Sintoo temple, there are various smaller shrines of the same faith dedicated to certain deified heroes, whose services are called into requisition by those of some particular occupation, or on the occasion of a special emergency. The sites of these humbler places of worship have been picturesquely selected on the acclivities, or the summits of the wooded hills which bound the town of Simoda landward. The pathways which lead to them are handsomely constructed, often with causeways, bridges of a single Roman arch, and flights of steps, all of stone, carefully sculptured and substantially built. Various gateway^s, guarded by stone statues of lions, or sometimes merely by pillars, upon which an inscription warns off intruders, divide at intervals the approach, while the sides of the avenues are shaded with fine trees of vigorous growth and abundant foliage. Some of the temples are so embosomed in groves, that they are completely hidden from the sight, until their shaded thresholds are reached unexpectedly by the stranger. One of these was especially noticed for the beauty of its position and the perfection of its structure. It was particularly devoted to a patron saint of the sailors, and was called by the Americans "the mariners' temple," and those engaged in occupations connected with the sea constantly resort there, to invoke the aid of, or to return thanks to the enshrined deity. Groups of fishermen, with their baskets laden with the successful hauls of the day, gathered within the precincts of the sacred place, and gratefully symbolized, according to prescribed form, the gratitude of their hearts. Shipwrecked mariners prostrated themselves before the idol, and fulfilled their vows by the sacrifice of their quivers and other exercises of self-imposed penance, which they had pledged for their lives in the agony of impending danger. Within the shade of the grove boatmen and fishermen were busy repairing their nets, and surrounded with their long oars, their baskets, and all the paraphernalia of their business, seemed to be invoking a blessing upon their labors, and propitiating the deity.





Land of SANONTAS 1873

MAPINPPS TEMPLE AT SIMODA

for good luck to the next day's fishing. The mariners' temple is one of the handsomest structures in Simoda. A solid stone causeway, leading over an arched bridge, with a low, well constructed wall on either side, leads to the steps of the building. The temple is built in the usual style, with a projecting roof of tiles ornamentally arranged in cornices of flowers and graceful scrolls, and supported by lacquered pillars. Over the door-way there is a fine specimen of carved wood work, representing the sacred crane, on the wing, symbolizing as it were the unsettled life of the mariner. The body of the building is closed partly with wall and partly with oiled paper casements. The usual stone lantern is found on the left, and from the door hangs a straw rope, which, being connected with a bell inside, is pulled by the devotee to ring up the deity, that he may be aware of the call, and be wide awake to the spiritual necessities of his visitor.

The expense of these numerous religious establishments must be very great, and the tax upon the people of Simoda proportionately burdensome, but it was impossible to obtain any very exact data in regard to the amount. As the voluntary system prevails to a great extent, and ecclesiastical prosperity depends chiefly upon the generosity of the pious, the priests are very naturally stimulated into a very vigorous exercise of their functions, and are undoubtedly indefatigable laborers in their peculiar field.

The country about Simoda is beautifully varied with hill and dale. There are the usual signs of elaborate Japanese culture, although from the more sparse population of the neighborhood there is more land left in a comparatively barren condition than further up the bay towards the capital. The bottoms and sides of the valleys are covered with gardens and fields, which are capital. The bottoms and sides of the valleys are covered with gardens and fields, which are well watered by the streamlets which flow through every valley, and which, by artificial arrangement, are diverted from their course, and pour their fertilizing waters over the land from terrace to terrace. There are four principal villages near Simoda. Kaki zaki, or Persimmon point, lies at the end of the harbor and contains barely two hundred houses. One of its monasteries, known by the name of Goku zhen zhi, was set apart, like the Rio-zhen-zhi in Simoda, as a place of resort for the foreigners, and within the ground attached is the burial place appropriated to Americans. There is a good anchorage at Kaki zaki for junks, and many of them take in their cargoes there rather than at Simoda.

Passing over the hills in a southeasterly direction, we come to the village of Susaki, which, with its two hundred houses or so, hangs upon the acclivity of a wooded hill side, with its front extending down to the beach and facing the waters of the inlet. Its inhabitants are generally fishermen, and their boats, and even larger vessels, can approach the shore at all stages of the tide. From Susaki a good road leads in a northeasterly direction to the village of Sotowra, a small hamlet, also situated on the seaside, but with a pleasing landscape inland, varied by cultivated fields and an undergrowth of dwarf oaks. A larger place, the town of Shira hama, or White Beach, extends its houses along a sandy beach some three miles distant from Sotowra, and is comparatively a flourishing settlement. Several quarries of trachyte, or greenstone, are worked in the neighborhood, and large quantities of charcoal are prepared on the forest-crowned hills in the rear.

Turning westwardly and ascending the hill beyond Shira hama, the highest summit within five miles of Simoda is reached, from which the whole southern area and breadth of the peninsula of Idzu can be seen at one glance. Barren peaks rise to the view out of thickly wooded hills, whose sides open into valleys, down which the wild vegetation thrives until checked by the

culture of the fields that surround the busy hamlets at the bottom. Where the beholder stands on the summit of the hill there is a small wooden shrine, almost hidden in a grove of pines. The numerous pictures, flowers, rags, copper cash, and decapitated queues found within, attest the popularity of the *Zhu zo bozats* the deity of the place.

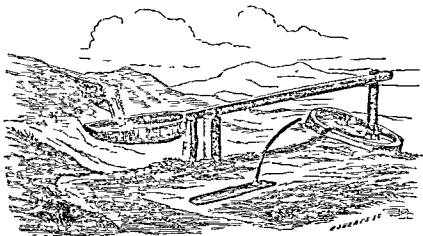


Valley above Simoda.

Descending the hill by its northwestern slope the largest valley of the country round is entered. The river Inodzu gama, which flows into the harbor of Simoda, passes through this, irrigating the cultivated banks and sustaining the commerce of the various villages and towns in the interior. The hamlet of Hongo, containing about one hundred and fifty houses, is situated on the river, which has been dammed at that spot and turns five undershot mills for cleaning rice. This operation is performed by a very simple machine, which consists of a projecting piece of wood or stone attached at right angles to the end of a long lever, which plays upon a horizontal axis, and is moved up and down, like a pestle working in a mortar.

This rude machinery is occasionally worked by water, as at Hongo, but more frequently by a man who steps alternately off and on, the long end of the beam. The river at Hongo is navigable for flat bottomed boats which frequent the place for charcoal, grain, stone, and other products. The country about is beautifully diversified, and the culture of the land is carried on to an extent that would hardly be believed by any who was not familiar with the populous countries of the east. Every hill is but a succession of terraces, rising one above the other, from the base to the summit, and green with the growth of rice, barley, wheat and other grain.

At the opening of a smaller valley, which branches off from the main one near Hongo, is a small village, called Rendai-zhi, from the Lotus terrace monastery near by.



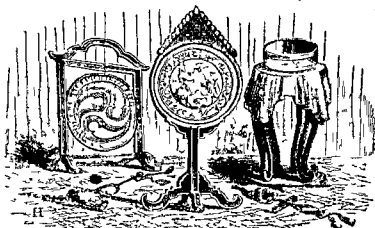
Japanese Rice Cleaner and Spade.

From Hongo the valley widens more and more until it reaches Simoda, where it forms an open expanse, like an alluvial plain. Along the base of the range of hills, and up their slopes, in the direction of the harbor, the numerous farm houses and abounding granaries, many of them of stone, and with substantial walls of the same material, exhibit a cheerful prospect of thrift and comfort. Nor are there wanting evidences of luxuriant enjoyment in the handsome structure of the dwelling houses, with their pleasure grounds adorned with pastures of variegated flowers, artificial ponds of gold fish, and fancy dwarf shade and fruit trees. West of Simoda the villages are smaller, and the hills which flank them of less height. In that direction there are no villages of a shorter distance than five miles from the town of Simoda. Near two seaside settlements, towards the southwest, the inhabitants have excavated large chambers in the cliffs, some hundred feet above the shore, in which they store the sea weed, which is a favorite article for chewing, as tobacco is used with us, and where the fishermen occasionally resort for shelter. The lower hills in every direction are covered with wood, from which large supplies of charcoal are made, which is extensively used as fuel for domestic and manufacturing purposes.

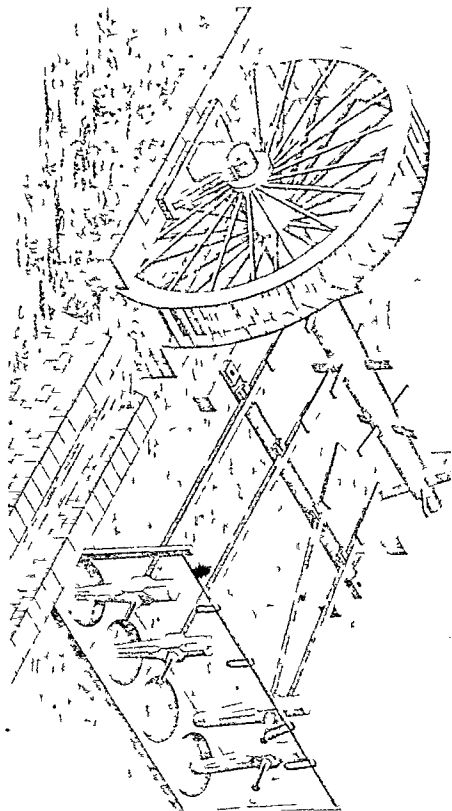
The topographical characteristics of Simoda are such as to indicate a healthful climate. Its situation on the extremity of a peninsula, looking seaward, and the elevated ground which surrounds the town, secure the fresh breezes of the sea and a freedom from miasmatic influences. Simoda itself lies low, but the soil is dry, and the stream which passes through it flows rapidly and with a clear current of pure water. It cannot be very cold, as Simoda is at the level of the sea, by the equable temperature of which the winter season is necessarily tempered. The hills from under which the town snugly reposes protect it from the full severity of the blasts from the snowy summits of the distant mountains. The climate is more or less variable in the winter and spring. The presence of snow upon the lofty peaks, although there is seldom frost or snow at Simoda itself, and the not unfrequent rains with the ever recurring fogs, give an occasional humidity and rawness to the atmosphere, which are chilling to the senses, and must be productive of occasional inflammatory diseases, such as are frequent in the spring and winter with us. The change of the wind alternates often between the warm sea breezes from the

south, and the cold blasts from the snow-capped mountains inland, and produces the usual effects, doubtless, of such variations. In the summer it is occasionally very hot in the day time, but the nights are refreshed by the sea breezes. From April 19th to May 13th, a record of the thermometer gives 72° as the highest, and 58° as the lowest point, and of the barometer 29.38 and 30.00. As the season advances the mercury rises, no doubt, much higher, reaching probably 85° of Fahrenheit, or more. Simoda is liable to the ordinary affections of temperate climates, but there seems no reason to suspect that it has a special tendency to any epidemic diseases.

Since the treaty of Kanagawa, by which the port was opened to intercourse with the Americans, Simoda has been separated from the jurisdiction of the principality of Idzu, and constituted an imperial city, the authorities of which are appointed directly by the government at Yedo. There is a governor or general superintendent of the municipal and commercial affairs of the place, with a fiscal assistant or treasurer, whose particular function has regard to the revenues. Subordinate to these two officials, there are the same number of prefects or *bugio*, who again have under them various collectors and interpreters, whose business is the practical administration of affairs in the various departments of government and trade. The limit of the jurisdiction of the imperial officers is marked by six guard stations, neither of which is more than a mile and a half from the town, placed on all the principal roads leading to Simoda. Beyond these, the inhabitants of the country are amenable as before to their own local government, while within them all persons are under the newly appointed authorities.

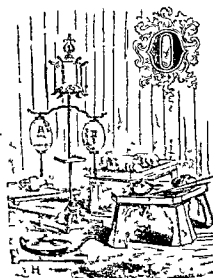


Organs and Musical Instruments for Worship



CHAPTER XXII.

SURVEY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE HARBOR OF SIMODA—DISCIPLINE IN THE SQUADRON—INTERCOURSE WITH THE AUTHORITIES OF SIMODA—KURA KAWA KANEI, THE PREFECT.—HIS DISPOSITION TO PRODUCE TROUBLE—TREATMENT OF THE AMERICAN OFFICERS—REMONSTRANCES OF THE COMMODORE—EQUIVOCATION OF THE PREFECT—HE IS FRIGHTENED INTO PROPRIETY—EFFORTS OF TWO JAPANESE GENTLEMEN CLANDESTINELY TO LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY IN THE SQUADRON—COMMODORE'S CONDUCT—BUDDHIST TEMPLES AT SIMODA—PREFECT AGAIN SHOWS HIS PETTY HOSTILITY—HIS PREVARICATIONS AND FALSEHOODS—FUNERAL OF AN AMERICAN ON SHORE—INSULT OFFERED TO AMERICAN OFFICERS ON SHORE—PREFECT'S FURTHER FALSEHOODS—COMPELLED TO APOLOGIZE, AND INFORMS THAT HIS INSOLENCE WOULD NOT BE BORNE IN FUTURE.—FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE WITH THE PEOPLE.—DEPARTURE FOR HAKODADI—VOLCANO OF ONO SIMA.—THE KURO SIWO, OR JAPANESE 'GULF STREAM'—STRAITS OF SANGAR.—TOGE—HARBOR OF HAKODADI—DIRECTIONS FOR ENTERING



ON THE Commodore's arrival at the port of Simoda, he immediately organized a surveying party for the complete examination of the harbor, and, during his stay, succeeded in obtaining a thorough knowledge of all the points of nautical interest to the navigator. The harbor of Simoda is near the southeastern extremity of the peninsula of Idzu, which terminates at the cape of that name, and bears S. W. by W., at a distance of forty-five miles from Cape Sagami, at the entrance of the lower bay or gulf of Yedo. To the northward of the harbor, a high ridge of mountains intersects the peninsula, and south of this, all the way to the cape, the land is broken by innumerable peaks of less elevation. There are several islands and prominent rocks, which are picturesque features in the view, and important indications, which require to be carefully considered by those approaching Simoda from the sea. Rock Island, in latitude $31^{\circ} 33' 50''$

N., longitude $138^{\circ} 57' 16''$ E., is about one hundred and twenty feet high, and a third of a mile long, with precipitous shores, and a surface of irregular outline. Covering the top there is a thick growth of shrubs, grass, weeds, and moss. From the summit of this island overfalls were seen, bearing N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., distant a mile or a mile and a half, which may have been caused by rocks or reefs. An effort was made to investigate the cause, but without success, in consequence of the strong current and the fresh winds. The Japanese fishermen, however, deny that there is any danger to navigation in that direction. North by west from Rock Island, distant two miles, are the Ukon rocks, which are really two in number, though at a distance

they generally appear as one. The larger reaches a height of seventy feet. Between these rocks and Rock island there is a current setting east northeastwardly, and running at a rate of quite four miles an hour. From Rock, Centre island, so called from its being the point from which the treaty limits are measured, bears N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., at a distance of five and a half miles, and from the two Ukona rocks, N. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., distant three and a half miles. Centre island is high, conical in shape, and is covered with a full growth of trees, while through its base passes, from one side to the other, a natural cave. Its latitude was found, by careful observation, to be $34^{\circ} 39' 19''$ N., and its longitude $138^{\circ} 57' 50''$ E., with a variation of $52'$ westwardly. High water, full and change, five hours. The extreme rise of the tide is five feet seven inches upon the shores of the island, and the mean rise three feet. Buisako is the name of an islet which, covered with trees and shrubs, and about forty feet in height, lies N.N.E. from Centre island. Off the village of Susaki, at a distance of one-third of a mile from the shore, is a ledge of rocks upon which the swell is always breaking.

Vessels bound to the harbor of Simoda from the southward and westward should make Cape Idzu, latitude $34^{\circ} 32'$ N., longitude $138^{\circ} 51'$ E., from which Rock island bears E.S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., distant about six miles. If the weather is at all clear, the chain of islands at the entrance of the lower bay or gulf of Yedo will, at the same time, be plainly visible. Between Rock island and the main land there are a number of rocks projecting above water, among which the Japanese junks freely pass; but a ship should not attempt the passage inside the island, unless in case of urgent necessity, as the northeasterly current, which sweeps along this coast, seems to be at this point capricious both in direction and velocity. Giving Rock island the berth of a mile, the harbor of Simoda will be in full view, bearing N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., distant five miles. Vandalia bluff, on the east side of the entrance, may be recognized by a grove of pines on its summit, and the village of Susaki, which is situated about one-third of the way between the bluff and a sharp point called Cape Diamond, making out to the eastward of the entrance to the harbor. A vessel standing in from Rock island will probably pass through a number of tide-rips, but soundings will not be obtained by the hand-lead until near the entrance of the harbor, when the navigator will find himself in from seventeen to twenty-four fathoms. Should the wind be from the northward and fresh, it would be expedient to anchor at the mouth of the harbor until it lulls or shifts, or until the vessel can be conveniently warped in, as the breezes usually blow in flaws and are always baffling.

Approaching from the northward and eastward, a vessel can pass on either side of the island of Oho-sima, from the centre of which Cape Diamond bears W.S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., distant about twenty miles. The navigator approaching from the east will not find the harbor opening until he is well inside of Cape Diamond. Between Oho-sima and Simoda no dangers are known to exist, but the northeasterly current must be borne constantly in mind, particularly at night and in thick weather. Its general strength is from two to three miles per hour; but as this, as well as its direction, is much influenced by the local winds, headlands, islands, rocks, and other causes, it cannot be relied on.



return to the ship he was accompanied by several of the Japanese officials, who proposed to make some arrangement for the supply of such provisions as might be required by the squadron.

Presuming upon the privileges secured by the treaty, the officers began now to frequent the shore and stroll freely about the streets of the town and the neighboring country. The common people, as had been elsewhere observed, seemed very much disposed to welcome the strangers, and engage in friendly converse with them. They exhibited their usual curiosity, and thronged about the Americans, examining their dress, and, with almost childish eagerness and delight, fingered the officers' buttons, swords, and gay accoutrements, and, pointing to them, would ask, in their pantomimic way, the English names for each article which struck their fancy. It was soon discovered, however, that the Japanese authorities were not disposed to allow of this free intermingling of the people with the Americans, and no sooner was it observed than various armed soldiers or policemen came up and dispersed their countrymen. Not satisfied with the exercise of this severe discipline upon the poor Japanese, the officials seemed determined to practice their authority upon the American officers. It was found that, wherever the latter went, they were followed by a squad of soldiers, who watched every movement, and dogged



Group of Japanese Women—S mode

their steps with the pertinacity of a pack of hounds. The people, under the orders of the local authorities, fled, and the town, with its shops closed and its streets deserted, was as sad as if it had been devastated by the plague. Even in their strolls into the country, the American officers found that they could not divest themselves of the perpetual presence and jealous watchfulness of the Japanese spies, who were evidently resolved to restrict the freedom of their visitors and put them under the most rigid surveillance.



The Commodore, upon being made aware of this treatment of his officers, felt greatly indignant, as it was in violation of the stipulations of the treaty, and he determined to bring the authorities of Simoda, whom he held responsible, to account. He accordingly dispatched his flag lieutenant and his two interpreters on shore, to call upon the prefect and lay before him certain complaints, which were specified in a memorandum in which the Commodore expressed his dissatisfaction at the manner in which his officers were treated on going ashore, and protested against their being followed by soldiers, the dispersion of the people, and the closing of the shops. These, he declared, were at variance with the stipulations of the treaty, and threatened, if the annoyances should continue, that he would sail to Yedo with his whole squadron and demand an explanation. The Commodore also took occasion to insist upon a suitable place being set apart on shore for a resort for himself and officers, and as he proposed a visit to the island of Oho-sima, requested that proper provisions should be made for the journey, a junk be provided, and certain Japanese officials selected to accompany the American expedition.

The prefect, upon hearing this protest of the Commodore, replied, that the Dutch at Nagasaki were always followed by twelve or fourteen Japanese soldiers, and seemed to think that such a precedent should be a rule of conduct for the Americans. He was, however, told, that the treatment of the Dutch was not to be taken for a moment as a criterion by which the Japanese authorities were to judge of what was proper in their relations with the Americans, who had a "treaty of amity and intercourse" with Japan, and coming, as they did, to Simoda as friends, they would insist upon being treated as such, and suffer no infringement of privileges which had been guaranteed by a solemn compact. The prefect, moreover, was told that the Americans intended no harm to the people, but, on the contrary, desired the most friendly relations with them, and the freest intercourse, without being watched and restrained by soldiers, acting under the orders of their superiors. Such a surveillance as had hitherto been practised was what Americans were not accustomed to, and particularly as it would seem to indicate that they were intent upon the commission of some outrage.

This resolute language produced its desired effect upon the prefect, who excused his conduct upon the plea that he had left Yoku-hama before the signing of the treaty, and had, in consequence, not been aware that it contained the clause "free intercourse." He would be obliged, he continued, to refer to his superiors at Yedo for instructions on this point, and ascertain how they construed that article, but, in the meanwhile, he would give orders that the houses should not be closed, and try the experiment of allowing the officers to visit the shore without being followed by soldiers.

The prefect then readily acceded to the Commodore's demands in regard to a place of resort and the visit to Oho-sima, saying that any of the temples were at his disposition, where the best accommodation Simoda afforded would be immediately provided for those persons of the squadron the Commodore wished to send to Oho-sima. After an expression from the prefect of courtesy, and the hope that trifles would not be permitted to interrupt the friendly feeling subsisting between the Americans and the Japanese, the interview closed.

The various officers of the squadron now visited the shore daily, and for a time there was apparently less disposition to interfere with their movements, or watch their proceedings. On one of these occasions a party had passed out into the country beyond the suburbs, when they found two Japanese following them, but, as they were supposed to be a couple of spies on the

watch, little notice was at first taken of them. Observing, however, that they seemed to be approaching as if stealthily, and as though desirous of seeking an opportunity of speaking, the American officers awaited their coming up. On being accosted, the Japanese were observed to be men of some position and rank, as each wore the two swords characteristic of distinction, and were dressed in the wide but short trousers of rich silk brocade. Their manner showed the usual courtly refinement of the better classes, but they exhibited the embarrassment of men who evidently were not perfectly at their ease, and were about doing something of dubious propriety. They cast their eyes stealthily about as if to assure themselves that none of their countrymen were at hand to observe their proceedings, and then approaching one of the officers and pretending to admire his watch-chain, slipped within the breast of his coat a folded paper.* They now significantly, with the finger upon the lips, entreated secrecy, and rapidly made off.

During the succeeding night, about two o'clock, a. m., (April 23th,) the officer of the mid-watch, on board the steamer Mississippi, was aroused by a voice from a boat alongside, and upon proceeding to the gangway, found a couple of Japanese, who had mounted the ladder at the ship's side, and upon being accosted, made signs expressive of a desire to be admitted on board.

They seemed very eager to be allowed to remain, and showed a very evident determination

*This paper proved to be a letter in Japanese, of which the following is a literal translation by Mr. Williams, the interpreter of the squadron.

"Two scholars from Yedo, in Japan, present this letter for the inspection of 'the high officers and those who manage affairs.' Our attainments are few and trifling, as we ourselves are small and unimportant, so that we are abashed in coming before you, we are neither skilled in the use of arms, nor are we able to discourse upon the rules of strategy and military discipline, in trifling pursuits and idle pastimes our years and months have slipped away. We have, however, read in books, and learned a little by hearsay, what are the customs and education in Europe and America, and we have been for many years desirous of going over the 'five great continents,' but the laws of our country in all maritime points are very strict, for foreigners to come into the country, and for natives to go abroad, are both immutably forbidden. Our wish to visit other regions has consequently only 'gone to and fro in our own breasts in continual agitation,' like one's breathing being impeded or his walking cramped. Happily, the arrival of so many of your ships in these waters, and stay for so many days, which has given us opportunity to make a pleasing acquaintance and careful examination, so that we are fully assured of the kindness and liberality of your excellencies, and your regard for others, has also revived the thoughts of many years, and they are urgent for an exit.

"Thus, then, is the time to carry the plan into execution, and we now secretly send you this private request, that you will take us on board your ships as they go out to sea, we can thus visit around in the five great continents, even if we do in this, slight the prohibitions of our own country. Lest those who have the management of affairs may feel some chagrin at this, in order to effect our desire, we are willing to serve in any way we can on board of the ships, and obey the orders given us. For doubtless it is, that when a lame man sees others walking he wishes to walk too, but how shall the pedestrian gratify his desires when he sees another one riding? We have all our lives been going hither to you, unable to get more than thirty degrees east and west, or twenty five degrees north and south, but now when we see how you sail on the tempests and cleave the huge billows, going lightning speed thousands and myriads of miles, skirting along the five great continents, can it not be likened to the lame finding a plan for walking, and the pedestrian seeing a mode by which he can ride? If you who manage affairs will give our request your consideration, we will retain the sense of the favor, but the prohibitions of our country are still existent, and if this matter should become known we should uselessly see ourselves pursued and brought back for others. If you are willing to accede to this request, keep 'wrapped in silence our error in making it' until you are about to think it worth while to investigate bygone doings. Although our words have only loosely let our thoughts leak out, yet truly they are sincere; and if your excellencies are pleased to regard them kindly, do not doubt them nor oppose our wishes. We together pay our respects in handing this in April 11."

A small note was enclosed, of which the following is a translation: "The enclosed letter contains the earnest request we have had for many days, and which we tried in many ways to get off to you at Yoku hama, in a fishing boat, by night, but the cruisers were too thick, and none others were allowed to come alongside, so that we were in great uncertainty how to act. Hearing that the ships were coming to Simoda, we have come to take our chance, intending to get a small boat and go off to Hakizaki in a small boat, near the shore, where there are no houses. There we greatly hope you to meet us and take us away, and thus bring our hopes to fruition. April 25."

not to return to the shore, by the desire they expressed of casting off their boat, utterly regardless of its fate. The captain of the *Mississippi* directed them to the flag ship, to which, on retiring to their boat, they pulled off at once. Having reached her with some difficulty, in consequence of the heavy swell in the harbor, they had hardly got upon the ladder and mounted to the gangway, when their boat got adrift, either by accident, or from being let go intentionally. On their reaching the deck, the officer informed the Commodore of their presence, who sent his interpreter to confer with them and learn the purpose of their untimely visit. They frankly confessed that their object was to be taken to the United States, where they might gratify their desire of travelling, and seeing the world. They were now recognised as the two men who had met the officers on shore and given one of them the letter. They seemed much fatigued by their boating excursion, and their clothes showed signs of being travel worn, although they proved to be Japanese gentlemen of good position. They both were entitled to wear the two swords, and one still retained a single one, but they had left the other three in the boat which had gone adrift with them. They were educated men, and wrote the mandarin Chinese with fluency and apparent elegance, and their manners were courteous and highly refined. The Commodore, on learning the purpose of their visit, sent word that he regretted that he was unable to receive them, as he would like very much to take some Japanese to America with him. He, however, was compelled to refuse them until they received permission from their government, for seeking which they would have ample opportunity, as the squadron would remain in the harbor of Simoda for some time longer. They were greatly disturbed by this answer of the Commodore, and declaring that if they returned to the land they would lose their heads, earnestly implored to be allowed to remain. The prayer was firmly but kindly refused. A long discussion ensued, in the course of which they urged every possible argument in their favor, and continued to appeal to the humanity of the Americans. A boat was now lowered, and after some mild resistance on their part to being sent off, they descended the gangway piteously deploring their fate, and were landed at a spot near where it was supposed their boat might have drifted.

On the afternoon of the next day, Yenoske, the chief interpreter, who had come to Simoda from Yedo for the express purpose of requesting the postponement of the expedition to Oho sima, which was conditionally granted by the Commodore, came on board the *Powhatan*, and requested to see the flag lieutenant, to whom he stated, that "last night a couple of demented Japanese had gone off to one of the American vessels," and wished to know if it had been the flag ship, and if so, whether the men had been guilty of any impropriety. The flag lieutenant replied, that it was difficult to retain any very precise recollection of those who visited the ships, as so many were constantly coming from the shore in the watering boats and on business, but he assured the interpreter that no misdemeanor could have been committed, or he would have been aware of the fact. The interpreter was then asked, whether the Japanese he referred to had reached the shore in safety, to which the very satisfactory answer that "they had" was received.

The Commodore, upon hearing of the visit of the interpreter and the apparent anxiety of the Japanese authorities in regard to the conduct of the two strange visitors to the ships, sent an officer on shore in order to quiet the excitement which had been created, and to interpose as far as possible in behalf of the poor fellows, who it was certain would be pursued with the utmost rigor of Japanese law. The authorities were thanked for the solicitude they had expressed lest the Americans should have been inconvenienced by any of their people, and assured that

they need not trouble themselves for a moment with the thought that so slight a matter had been considered otherwise than a mere trivial occurrence unworthy of any investigation. The Japanese were further informed that they need give themselves no anxiety for the future, as none of their countrymen should be received on board the American ships without the consent of the authorities, as the Commodore and his officers were not disposed to take advantage of their confidence or act in any way that would be inconsistent with the spirit of the treaty. If the Commodore had felt himself at liberty to indulge his feelings, he would have gladly given a refuge on board his ship to the poor Japanese, who apparently sought to escape from the country from the desire of gratifying a liberal curiosity, which had been stimulated by the presence of the Americans in Japan. There were other considerations which, however, had higher claims than an equivocal humanity. To connive at the flight of one of the people was to disobey the laws of the Empire, and it was the only true policy to conform, in all possible regards, to the institutions of a country by which so many important concessions had already been reluctantly granted. The Empire of Japan forbids the departure of any of its subjects for a foreign country under the penalty of death, and the two men who had fled on board the ships were criminals in the eye of their own laws, however innocent they might have appeared to the Americans. Moreover, although there was no reason to doubt the account the two Japanese gave of themselves, it was possible they were influenced by other and less worthy motives than those they professed. It might have been a stratagem to test American honor, and some believed it so to be. The Commodore, by his careful efforts to impress upon the authorities how trifling he esteemed the offence, hoped to mitigate the punishment to which it was amenable. The event was full of interest, as indicative of the intense desire for information on the part of two educated Japanese, who were ready to brave the rigid laws of the country, and to risk even death for the sake of adding to their knowledge. The Japanese are undoubtedly an inquiring people, and would gladly welcome an opportunity for the expansion of their moral and intellectual faculties. The conduct of the unfortunate two was, it is believed, characteristic of their countrymen, and nothing can better represent the intense curiosity of the people, while its exercise is only prevented by the most rigid laws and ceaseless watchfulness lest they should be disobeyed. In this disposition of the people of Japan, what a field of speculation, and, it may be added, what a prospect full of hope opens for the future of that interesting country!

Some days subsequently, as a party of officers were strolling in the suburbs, they came upon the prison of the town, where they recognized the two unfortunate Japanese immured in one of the usual places of confinement, a kind of cage, barred in front and very restricted in capacity. The poor fellows had been immediately pursued upon its being discovered that they had visited the ships, and after a few days they were pounced upon and lodged in prison. They seemed to bear their misfortune with great equanimity, and were greatly pleased apparently with the visit of the American officers, in whose eyes they evidently were desirous of appearing to advantage. On one of the visitors approaching the cage, the Japanese wrote on a piece of board that was handed to them the following, which, as a remarkable specimen of philosophical resignation under circumstances which would have tried the stoicism of Cato, deserves a record.

"When a hero fails in his purpose, his acts are then regarded as those of a villain and robber. In public have we been seized and punished and caged for many days. The village elders and head men treat us disdainfully, their oppressions being grievous indeed. Therefore, looking up while yet we have nothing wherewith to reproach ourselves, it must now be seen whether a hero

laid before him. He declared that the American officers were in the wrong for not having given previous notice of their intention to stay on shore, and because they had gone to a temple which had not been especially designated for their use.

When the prefect was set right in regard to these false countercharges, he shifted his ground and urged that, as the treaty had not yet gone into effect, the Americans could not yet claim the advantages it was supposed to secure. This view was, of course, emphatically objected to, and the prefect, moreover, informed that the Commodore was not willing to discuss with him the subject of the interpretation of the treaty, as it did not concern him. It was then proposed by the prefect that the matter complained of should be submitted to the commissioners for their arbitration. This was peremptorily declined, and an immediate apology for the outrage, or a categorical refusal, insisted upon. The Japanese official was not yet willing to come directly to the point, and lingered in the discussion of the minor details of the question, in the course of which he stated that it was a Japanese custom to appoint guards for the *protection* of strangers. He was then indignantly told that the Americans required no such protection, as they were well able to protect themselves on all occasions, and that one of the articles of the treaty was framed for the express purpose of securing freedom from that very surveillance alluded to. The prefect was then emphatically assured that the Americans would never submit with impunity to such treatment, as it was not only an infringement of the stipulations of the treaty, but a violation of the laws of hospitality and an outrage. The prefect now disavowed the whole proceeding, saying that his subordinates had acted upon their own responsibility and without his knowledge, and that he regretted its occurrence. This apology was, of course, accepted, with a reminder, however, that for the future the Commodore could make no distinction between the prefect's own acts and those of his subordinates, but that the former would be held responsible in all cases.

The prefect then expressed a desire to restrict the stay of officers during the night on shore to cases of necessity, but any such qualification of the privilege was positively denied, and as the Japanese "could not, of course, judge of the necessity which might require the American officers to remain on shore, they must decide that for themselves."

All difficulty now being removed, there was no further interruption to the friendly intercourse between the people of Simoda and their American visitors. There were daily and most intimate relations with the authorities, who seemed anxious to facilitate the views of the Commodore, and superintend the supplying of his vessels with water, and all the provisions their scant resources afforded. As the day was now approaching the 9th of May, which had been appointed for meeting the Japanese officials at Hakodadi, the Commodore took his departure for that place in his flag ship, the Powhatan, accompanied by the steamer Mississippi. The *McCdonn*, *Vandalia*, and *Southampton* had sailed previously for the same port. The store ship *Supply* was left at Simoda. Previous to the Commodore's departure, he had offered a passage to the interpreter Tatsunoske, or any other Japanese personage whose presence might be required at Hakodadi; this offer, however, was declined, as, with their usual ceremonious obedience to their superiors, they were fearful of taking any step, however trifling in itself, without being fortified by the authority of the imperial government. The Commodore had now been twenty five days in the harbor of Simoda, and as much of his time had been spent in tedious negotiation with the local authorities, who pertinaciously disputed at every step what had been previously conceded by their superiors, he was glad to vary the dull business in which he had been necessarily



JAPANESE FUNERAL AT SIMODA

This commences on the south end of the island of Formosa, and is undoubtedly part of the great equatorial current of the Pacific. The larger portion of this current, when it reaches the point just named, passes off into the China sea, while the other part is deflected to the northward, passing along the eastern coast of Formosa, where its strength and character are unequivocally shown, and extending itself, at times, as far to the eastward as the Lew Chew islands, where the increased temperature of the water shows the presence of a torrid current. Its northwardly course, however, continues as far as the parallel of 26° , when it bears off to the northward and eastward, washing the whole southeastern coast of Japan as far as the Straits of Sangar, and increasing in strength as it advances. At the chain of islands south of the Gulf of Yedo, about the meridian of 140° E, its maximum strength on one occasion was observed to be seventy two, seventy four, and eighty miles per diem, respectively, on three successive days. From the south end of Formosa to the Straits of Sangar, its average velocity was found to be from thirty five to forty miles per day, at all seasons when our ships traversed it. Its precise width south of the Gulf of Yedo was not satisfactorily ascertained, but enough was discovered to make it certain that it reaches to the southward of Tatsicio, and it extends perhaps even to the Bonin Islands in latitude 26° N.

In the latitude of 40° N and to the eastward of the meridian 143° E the stream turns more to the eastward, and thus allows a cold counter current to intervene between it and the southern coast of the island of Yesso. Our hydrographers could not positively ascertain the fact, but they believed that this hyperborean current, found on the coast of Yesso, passes to the westward through the Straits of Sangar down through the Japan sea, between Corea and the Japanese islands, finding an outlet through the Formosa channel into the China sea. The data they had, together with the known fact that a strong southwardly current prevails between Formosa and the coast of China, particularly during the northeast monsoon, when the northwardly current along the east coast of Formosa continues unimpeded, would seem to give probability to this conjecture of the gentlemen. The southwest monsoon may possibly affect this counter-current, and force it to mingle its waters with those of the Kuro siwo, or "Japanese gulf stream," between the north end of Formosa and the southwest extremity of Japan. The *Vandalia* was ordered from Hakodadi, to pass westward through the Straits of Sangar and proceed to China, on the western side of Japan. One object of this was to make observations on current and temperature, but, unfortunately, the Commodore left China before the report was made, and it has never reached him.

The existence of this counter-current, however, is so well known by vessels trading on the coast of China, that they seldom attempt to beat to the northward through the Formosa channel, but usually make the passage to the eastward of Formosa during adverse winds, even though such winds may be stronger on the east side of the island than in the Formosa channel. Lieutenant Bent traced also some striking analogies between this Kuro siwo (great stream) of Japan, and our gulf stream. His observations were strikingly confirmatory of the views that have been expressed both by Mr Redfield and Lieutenant M T Maury, as to the cause of the deflection of the Atlantic gulf stream to the eastward, and the cold counter current below or between it and the shore. The first is not caused by the water impinging on land, and being thereby turned to the east, but by the greater rotative velocity of the latitudes at and near the equator, which throw the gulf stream eastward, and the second is produced by the tardy rotation of the high latitudes operating on the cold counter current setting southward from the

peaks in the interior covered with snow. The atmosphere was fresh and invigorating, the mean temperature of the air being 59° of Fahrenheit, and that of the water 55° . The water was perfectly smooth, with an oily aspect from the surface, being covered with a substance which was supposed to be the excrement of whales, of which large numbers of various kinds, as well as of porpoises, were seen. At daylight, on the 16th, the course was shaped at an angle approaching the coast, and although the land had been for awhile out of sight, it was now again made and traced along until the ships reached the northeastern extremity of Nippon, called by the Japanese *Sirija Saki*. The southern and eastern coast of Japan from Cape Sirofama, as far as was observed, is not so high as that on the western side of the Gulf of Yedo. It is, however, of sufficient height to be observed, in tolerably clear weather, at a distance of forty miles. On getting abreast of Cape *Sirija Saki*, the Strait of Sangar, which separates Nippon from Yesso, was full in view, with the high land of the latter island distinctly visible ahead. The course was now steered directly for Hakodadi, but on getting into the middle of the strait a current or tide was encountered, which probably accelerated the eastern one, until the two reached a combined velocity of six knots. This powerful current prevented the steamers from reaching port that night, and it was thought advisable to put the heads of the steamers seaward. This would not have been necessary if any reliance could have been placed upon the continuance of clear weather. The engines were so managed as to expend little coal, and still to retain the position of the vessels, consequently, on taking the cross bearings at daylight, it was found, notwithstanding the current, that the ships had not shifted their places a mile from where they had been when night set in.

Scarcely, however, had the steamers stood again for their destined port when a dense fog came on and obscured every object from sight, so that it was found necessary to head the steamers towards the east. The sun, however, on approaching the zenith, cleared away the fog, and fortunately bearings were distinguished which served as a guide to the port. As the cape, called by the Japanese *Surro kubo*, and which the Commodore named Cape Blunt, in honor of his friends Edmund and George Blunt, of New York, was approached, there could be discerned over the neck of land which connects the promontory of Treaty Point* with the interior, the three ships of the squadron which had been previously dispatched, safely at anchor in the harbor of Hakodadi. At the approach of the steamers, in obedience to the previous instructions of the Commodore, boats came off from the ships with officers prepared to pilot in the *Powhatan* and *Mississippi*, which finally came to anchor at nine o'clock on the morning of the 17th of May.

The spacious and beautiful bay of Hakodadi, which for accessibility and safety is one of the finest in the world, lies on the north side of the Strait of Sangar, which separates the Japanese islands of Nippon and Yesso, and about midway between *Sirija saki*,† the northeast point of the former and the city of Matsmai. The bay bears from the cape N $W \frac{1}{4} W$ distant about forty five miles, and is four miles wide at its entrance and runs five miles into the land.

The navigation of the Strait of Sangar, as far as it was examined by the officers of the expedition, proved to be safe and convenient, and the entrance to the port of Hakodadi as accessible as that of Simoda, which is saying everything in its favor. Like Simoda, Hakodadi has an outer and inner harbor, the former being formed by the bay, which is somewhat of

* So called on the American charts

† *Saki*, in the Japanese language, means cape consequently it should more properly be called Cape *Sirija*



two thirds of a mile Though this spit would be a danger in entering the harbor, it, in fact, makes the anchorage more safe by its forming a natural breakwater, sheltering vessels at anchor inside of it from all inconvenient swell Then bring the sand hills a point on the port bow, and stand in until the western extremity of the town bears S W $\frac{1}{2}$ W, when the best berth will be secured, with five-and a half or six fathoms water If it should be desirable to get a little nearer in, haul up a little to the eastward of south for the low rocky peak which will be just visible over the sloping ridge to the southward and eastward of the town A vessel of moderate draught may approach within a quarter of a mile of Tsuki Point, where there is a building yard for junks This portion of the harbor is generally crowded with native vessels, and unless the want of repairs, or some other cause, renders a close berth necessary, it is better to remain further out

If the peak or saddle should be obscured by clouds or fog after doubling the promontory, it will be necessary to steer N by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E, until the sand hills are brought upon the bearing previously given, when it will be proper to proceed as there directed A short distance from the tail of the spit is a detached sand bank, with three-and a half fathoms of water upon it, the outer edge of which was marked by the officers of the expedition with a white spar buoy Between this and the spit there is a narrow channel, with five or six fathoms depth of water Vessels may pass on either side of the buoy, but it is more prudent to go to the northward of it Should the wind fail before reaching the harbor, there will be found a good anchorage in the outer roads, with a depth of from ten to twenty five fathoms

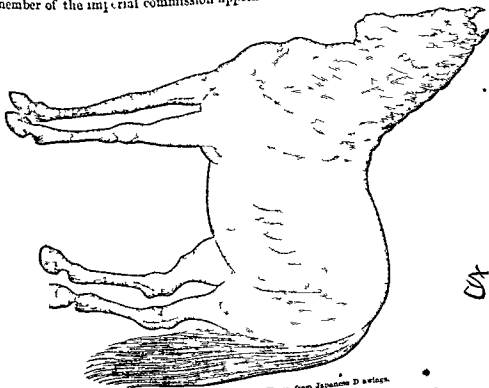


Kamida Creek Bay of Hakodadi.

choicest specimens of similar Chinese work. The forms and ornamentation of the various articles, although frequently grotesque, showed much grace and skill, and proved great advancement in the application of the arts of design to manufacturing purposes.

In examining into the character of art exhibited by the Japanese in the illustrated books and pictures brought home by the officers of the expedition, of which several specimens are now before us, the same surprising advancement of this remarkable people, as they have shown in so many other respects, is strikingly observable. To the archaeologist there is presented in these illustrations a living example of the archaic period of a national art, when the barbaric character of the past seems to be fast losing its rude features in the early and naive beginnings of a sober and cultivated future. We are reminded, in a degree truly surprising, of the monochromatic designs upon the I trunks, vases. We find simplicity of expression rather than, as might be expected, extravagance and grotesqueness, and a soberness of coloring so far removed from the gaudy tendencies of oriental taste, that, as we look, we are almost persuaded that we have here a beginning of that unextravagant expression of nature which, in the early Greek efforts, though crude, is so interesting to the antiquarian and artist. The character and form in these Japanese illustrations, though apparently much in advance of Chinese art, are still typical rather than naturalistic, yet they are marked by an observation of nature which removes them from anything like conventionalism or manner.

One of these specimens is a book in two volumes, written by the Prince Hayashi, the chief member of the imperial commission appointed to negotiate the treaty, and presented by him to

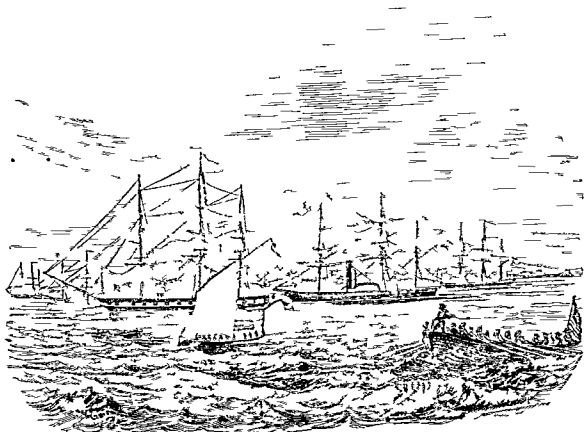


馬の点
大元

The Points of Horses from Japanese Drawings.

Commodore Perry. The subject treated of is 'The Points of a Horse' and the work is illustrated by a large number of pictures. These illustrations are from woodcuts of bold outline,

horse-shoe shape And here, too, as at Simoda, a dangerous obstruction was timely discovered and buoyed out, consisting of a long spit of shoal water, making out from the centre of the town to an extent of about twelve hundred yards The inner harbor is the southeastern arm of the bay, and is completely sheltered, with regular soundings and excellent holding ground



Hakodadi from the Bay

For expansiveness and safety from all winds it has not its superior in the world, with anchorage of five to seven fathoms, and room to moor a hundred sail The inner harbor is formed by a bold peaked promontory standing well out from the high land of the main, with which it is connected by a low sandy isthmus giving it consequently, in the distance the appearance of an island It may be readily recognized by the navigator from the outline of the land and, on approaching from the eastward after passing Cape Surro kubo, or Cape Blunt which forms a conspicuous headland, twelve miles east by south from the town the junks at anchor in the harbor will be visible over the low isthmus

To enter the harbor the navigator must after rounding the promontory of Hakodadi and giving it a berth of a mile to avoid the calms under the headland steer for the sharp peak of Komaga daki bearing about north until the east peak of the saddle bearing about N E by N opens to the westward of the round knob on the side of the mountain then haul up to the northward and eastward keeping them open until the centre of the sand hills on the isthmus which may be recognized by the dark knolls upon them, bears SE by E $\frac{1}{4}$ E This will clear a spit which makes out from the western point of the town in a north north westerly direct on

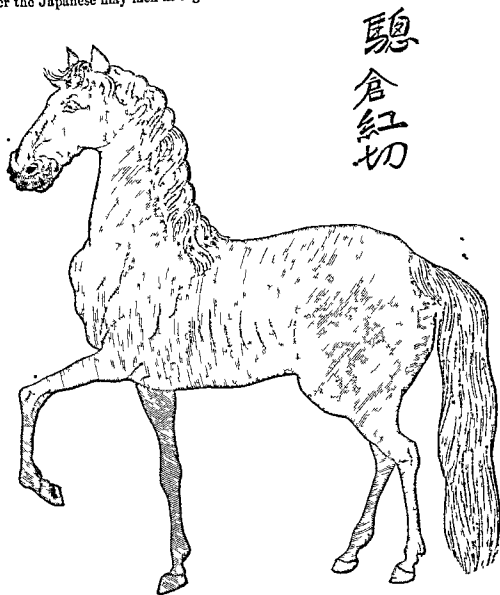
and apparently printed with a tint to distinguish each in the various groups of the animal, by sober greys, reds, and blacks. The style might be classed as that of the medieval, and the horses might pass for those sketched in the time of Albert Durer, though with a more rigid adherence to nature. They exhibit, what may be noticed in the Elgin marbles, a breed of small stature and finely formed limbs, such as are found in southern countries. There is great



freedom of hair shown in the drawing. The animals are represented in various attitudes, curving gracefully, and rearing upon the ground, positions requiring and exhibiting an ality in foreign training, which is found, with its small surging, in Asiatic art.

Another example of Japanese art before us is a species of fish, if we may so call it, cut in

wood and printed on paper in colors. It presents a row or line of the huge wrestlers of whom we have spoken on a previous page. The chief point of interest in this illustration, considered in an artistic sense, is, that, apart from its being a successful specimen of printing in colors—a process, by the way, quite modern among ourselves—there is a breadth and vigor of outline compared with which much of our own drawing appears feeble, and, above all things, undecided. Whatever the Japanese may lack as regards art, in a perception of its true principles, the style,



grace, and even a certain mannered dexterity which their drawings exhibit, show that they are possessed of an unexpected readiness and precision of touch, which are the prominent characteristics in this picture of the wrestlers. There is no stiffness or angularity about it. There is also a picture of an amphitheatre, in which the wrestlers appear, which serves to correct an error found in former writers as to Japanese ignorance of perspective.

In illustration of the rapidity and dexterity with which the Japanese artists work we have the testimony of the chaplain of the Mississippi, the Rev Mr Jones, who employed an artist at Hakodadi to paint for him a set of screens. Mr Jones sat by the painter and watched him at his work. He made no previous sketch, but drew at once the various portions of the landscape, putting in his houses, ships, horses, trees and birds, with wonderful readiness, the whole being a fancy piece, and when he came to paint the foliage of some pines, he used two brushes in one hand at the same time, so as to expedite his work. The result was, though not a production of high art, yet a much better specimen of ornamental screen than could readily be found in the most pretentious manufacturing establishment of our own country. And here we may add, that a very remarkable specimen of Japanese linear drawing in perspective fell under Mr Jones' observation. On the first visit of the squadron to Japan, as we have stated, intense interest was excited among the natives by the engines of the steamers. Their curiosity seemed insatiable, and the Japanese artists were constantly employed, when they had opportunity, in making drawings of parts of the machinery, and seeking to understand its construction and the principles of its action. On the second visit of the squadron, Mr Jones saw, in the hands of a Japanese, a perfect drawing, in true proportion, of the whole engine, with its several parts in place, which he says was as correct and good as could have been made anywhere. The Japanese artist had made it, and valued it very highly, being unwilling to part with it at any price, Mr Jones would have gladly bought it, and offered to do so, that he might bring it home as a specimen of Japanese skill.

In regard to anatomical markings, there is, in the specimens of Japanese drawings we have before us, no lack of such a degree of correctness as may be obtained by close *outward* observation of the parts. The muscular development of the horses, both in action and at rest, is shown in lines sufficiently true to nature to prove a very minute and accurate observation, on the part of the artist, of the *external* features of his subjects. This is very striking in the frieze of the wrestlers alluded to above. It is characterized by remarkable precision in this respect, and while preserving in the figures all the peculiar features of the Asiatic stock, the outer angle of the eye running upward, the small corneas, &c, there is distinctive expression, yet with similarity, and a height of art is reached in the drawings corresponding, as regards naturalistic characters, with what has been found in some of the *Siuevali* fragments.

The third example of Japanese art is afforded by an unpretending, illustrated child's book, purchased in Hakodadi for a few Chinese copper "cash." This humble little primer suggests a thousand points of interest in connexion with the Japanese, and acquaints us at once, as we turn over the very first page, with an important fact as regards their advance in art. We here find evidence that, unlike the Chinese, the artists of Japan have, as we have already hinted, a knowledge of perspective. There is a balcony presented in angular perspective, with its rafters placed in strict accordance with the principle of terminating the perspective lines in a vanishing point abruptly on the horizon. On another page there is what appears to be some Tartar warrior, or Japanese *St. Patrick* clearing the land of reptiles and vermin, and the doughty hero is first waving his sword in most valiant style. This is drawn with a freedom and boldness of line and force of colour and ludicrous that are rarely found in similar books prepared for the amusement of children with us. In one of the illustrations there is a quaint old fellow peering through a pair of spectacles at a hawk upon his nose, and made precisely like the old-eyed glasses just now so fashionable, with its side wires or braces to confine them to

change in the original arrangement The flag lieutenant, Mr Bent, was sent by the Commodore to meet the Japanese delegates, and inform them that they would be received on board the Powhatan at any time they might appoint One o'clock was accordingly named, and at that hour the boat was sent ashore to receive the Japanese officials and bring them to the ship. On the flag lieutenant's arriving at the government house and sending word that he was in waiting to conduct the deputies to the Commodore, he was told that these gentlemen were at luncheon After a due exercise of patience for more than an hour, the chief deputy and two of his suite presented themselves, and very deliberately, instead of proceeding to the boat, took their seats in the custom house, and leisurely refreshed themselves with tea and pipes The flag lieutenant very courteously reminded them that it was time to go, but these dignitaries, with the greatest self-composure imaginable, continued to sip their tea and smoke their pipes, and showed by their manner that, such was the idea of their own importance, that not only time and tide, but flag lieutenants, should wait their leisure This conduct was the more remarkable from a people so habitually ceremonious and polite. The officer, therefore, very properly said that the boat sent by the Commodore was at the steps, and was then going off to the ship, and if they chose to take passage in it he would be pleased to have their company, if not, they would be obliged to find their own conveyance, but, as the appointed hour had long since passed, it was doubtful whether they would be received by the Commodore at all They then replied, without, apparently, making any effort to hurry themselves, that they were waiting for their companions

The flag lieutenant now, without more ado, took his departure, and, getting into the boat, put off for the ship On his way thither he was met by a messenger from the Commodore, with the command to wait no longer for the deputies, unless they had some good reason for their delay On the flag lieutenant's making his report, orders were given to prepare for another visit to the land, with a stronger demonstration of earnestness The deputies, however, in the mean time arrived, and, as they presented themselves at the gangway of the Powhatan, the flag lieutenant demanded, in the name of the Commodore, an explanation of their delay The Japanese functionaries then having offered as an apology that they had been delayed in purchasing a few articles as presents for the American ambassador, were treated as if they told the truth, and conducted to the Commodore's cabin, where they held a short conference, and refreshments were hospitably set before them They repeated in conversation the tenor of their note, and said they had no authority to settle the boundaries in Hakodadi Of course there was no occasion to confer further with them, and the Commodore no longer pressed the matter, but determined to postpone all negotiations until he should meet the imperial commissioners at Simoda, the appointed time for which meeting was now rapidly approaching

On parting with these Japanese officials, the Commodore took occasion, while expressing his gratification at the general kindness and courtesy of the authorities and people at Hakodadi, to remark, that the inhabitants still seemed suspicious of the Americans, as they continued to shut their houses and remove the women from observation To this the deputies returned a written reply, which, as it presents a document singularly characteristic of the gentle, conciliatory tone of the Japanese, and of their ingenuity in the work of self-justification, and also exhibits the moderate style of their official communications, we give at length

"To hear from the Commodore that since his arrival in Hakodadi, he has been much pleased with his intercourse and communications with the local authorities, is truly a great gratification

to us With regard to going through the streets, and seeing shops and houses shut, with neither women nor children in the ways, let it be here observed, that at Yokohama this very matter was plainly spoiled by Moryama the interpreter, at that place The customs of our country are unlike yours, and the people have been unused to see people from foreign lands, and though the authorities did what they could to pacify them, and teach them better, they still were disinclined to believe, and many absconded or hid themselves If the Commodore will recall to mind the day when he took a ramble to Yokohama, in which some of us accompanied him, he will recollect that in the villages and houses we hardly saw a woman during the whole walk If he saw more of them at Sumola, as he went about, it was because there the people were gradually accustomed to the Americans, and their fears had been allayed, so that they felt no dread



Fig. 1. Two men.

"On these remote frontiers many miles from Yokohama the fears of the people are so fixed that they are not easily shaken and alloted but pray how can the inhabitants here think of

regarding Americans with inimical feelings? Even when they see their own officers, with the persons of whom they are not familiar, they also run aside, and, as from fear, seek to escape us. This is the custom of our country that officers should accompany visitors about—a custom not to be so soon changed. Still the disposition of the men here is ingenuous, brave, upright, and good, and that of the women retiring and modest, not gazing at men as if without bashfulness. Such characteristics and such usages must be considered as estimable, and we think that you also will not dislike them.

“In general, when upright, cordial propriety marks intercourse, then peace, good feeling and harmony are real between the parties, but if harshness, violence, and grasping characterize it, then hate and distrust with collision arise, and love will not be found to bring the hearts of the people together. This is a rule of heaven, concerning which no one can have any doubt.”

The authorities of Hakodadi had set apart and fenced off, for the interment of the American dead, a portion of a small, neglected burial ground, situated in an easterly direction, beyond the town and near the forts. The spot is exceedingly picturesque, and commands a fine view of the harbor, the Straits of Sangar, and the adjacent coasts. It was the melancholy duty of our countrymen to deposit there the remains of two of their shipmates, who, after a long illness, died during the stay of the squadron in that port. The funerals were conducted with the usual naval and religious ceremonies. After a short preliminary service on board ship, the escort, consisting of several officers, a number of seamen and marines, in four boats, conducted the bodies ashore, the boats and all the ships with flags at half mast. On reaching the land, the procession was formed, and as it marched with slow step and muffled drums to the burial place, a large concourse of Japanese collected and followed it to the grave. The chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Jones, read the burial service of the Protestant Episcopal church, and, after the services had terminated, many of the natives gathered around him, and, although they evinced much curiosity, they never forgot the respect which they seemed to think due to his religious office. This was the fourth funeral among the Americans in Japan, and knowing the very strong prejudice against Christianity, and, indeed, the very violent opposition to it manifested by the Japanese, Mr. Jones had felt uncertain, when his duty required him to officiate at the first interment, how far he would be permitted to proceed unmolested. He accordingly asked the Commodore for directions, and was told, “Do exactly as you always do on such occasions, no more, nor no less,” and in answer to his inquiry how he should act if interrupted, the answer was, “still go on and have your usual service.” No opposition, however, was made, and the chaplain felt that it was a day to be remembered, that, after the lapse of centuries, a minister of Christ stood, in his person, upon the soil of Japan, and, unmolested, performed one of the rites of his faith. He could not but remember, that, more than two hundred years before, it had been written in Japan, “so long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that the King of Spain himself, or the Christian’s God, or the great God of all, if he violate this command, shall pay for it with his head.” The first funeral was at Yoku hama, the second at Simoda, and the last two at Hakodadi. Respect for the ceremonies was shown by the Japanese at all, and at the latter place the natives often alluded, in their intercourse with Mr. Jones, to his officiating at the grave, and called him, in their language, “the praying man,” and instead of losing standing among them from his office, as he expected to do, he found himself treated with increased friendliness and attention.

By the burial ground at Hakodadi, which was allotted to our countrymen and had been long used by the Japanese themselves, there is a Buddhist temple surrounded with an enclosure containing large roughly carved stones, intended to represent deities, and inscribed with various devices and religious apothegms. There are also several of the rotary praying machines, already described, and when the chaplain turned enquiringly to the apparatus, the Japanese put their hands together, signifying that it was intended for prayer, and then pointed to the prayer book in Mr Jones's hands, implying that it was used for the same purpose, an explanation which the good chaplain felt to be anything but a compliment to his much valued manual of devotion. By the way, on the subject of prayer, the chaplain had an opportunity to obtain further information. One day he wandered into a Buddhist temple when the Japanese were at worship. There was a large altar exactly similar to that in a Roman church, with a gilt image in its recess, two handsome lamps lighted, two large candles burning, artificial flowers, &c, with an abundance of gilding, there were also two side altars with candles on them burning. Before the principal altar, within an enclosure, were five priests, robed and on their knees, the chief one striking a small saucer shaped bell, and three others with padded drumsticks striking hollow wooden lacquered vessels, which emitted a dull sound. They kept time, and toned their prayers to their music in chanting, after chanting, they knelt again, and touched the floor with their foreheads, after which they repaired to the side altars and had a short ceremony before each of them. When all was over, one of the priests approached, and, pointing to an image, asked Mr Jones what it was called in America. He answered "Nai," "we have it not." He then pointed to the altars and asked the same question, to which he received the same reply. When the chaplain left the temple, as he walked on, his official attendant asked him "if the people prayed in America?" He was answered in the affirmative, and Mr Jones, dropping on one knee, joined his hands, and, with upturned face, closed his eyes, and pointed to the heavens, to intimate by signs that we pray to a being there. He then asked his attendants if they prayed to that being? He replied "Yes, we pray to Tien," their word for heaven or God.

To return to our narrative of matters connected with the funeral, it was found, in a few days after the interment of our countryman, that the Japanese authorities had caused to be erected a neat picket fence around the American graves, before it was known to our officers.*

After a farewell visit of ceremony on shore, and an interchange of courtesies and presents, (among which was a block of granite for the Washington monument) the Powhatan and Mississippi, which were the only vessels of the squadron left, took their departure for Simoda.

* The seamen of the *Vandalia* to the crew of which ship the deceased had belonged, with a pious reverence for the departed shipmates sleep in that distant land erected a gravestone upon which was inscribed an epitaph of their own composition in the following words: cut by the Japanese in English letters from a copy furnished them:

Sleeping on a foreign shore
Rest ye for rest! thy trials o'er
Many shipmates leave this token here
That some perchance may drop a tear
For one that braved so long the blast
And served his country to the last

The want of poetic inspiration in this humble tribute may well be forgiven for the sake of its mingled affection and patriotism. Poor Jack may not be able to write poetry, and yet I believe it may feel as strongly as another man's those deep emotions of our nature which underlie the poet's work when with a singing robes about him he soars aloft with his unpassioned gushes of spirit stirring song or it may be a gentler mood breathes as it were on Eolian harp-strings making the sadder music that can move to tears.



on the 3d of June, 1854 The steamers, however, had hardly got under way at early sunrise, when they were obliged to anchor again at the mouth of the bay, in consequence of a dense fog. It was providential that the weather had remained clear a sufficient time to allow of securing some bearings for a safe anchorage. As the day advanced the fog was dissipated, and the two steamers, weighing again, got clear of the straits before night.

On the fifth day out, the smoke of the volcano of Oho-sima was discovered in the distance, and the land was soon distinctly made, but the weather becoming very thick from the rain and mist, it was found necessary to put the ships' heads off shore and continue under low steam during the night. The fog continuing while the ships were among the islands in the Gulf of Yedo, caused a delay of full twenty-four hours, and they consequently did not arrive at Simoda until the 7th of June, which, however, was one day before the time appointed for a meeting of the Commodore with the commissioners. Nothing of especial interest occurred during the passage. A very large number of whales was observed, and the strong eastward current was remarked as before.

At noon, the Powhatan, passing Vandahia bluff at the entrance of Simoda harbor, ran in and came to anchor in her former berth, followed by her consort the Mississippi. The store-ship Supply was found at anchor in the harbor. Shortly after anchoring, some of the Japanese officers came on board the flag ship, and cordially welcoming the Commodore on his return to Simoda, informed him that the commissioners had arrived from Yedo with an addition of two to their number. As the Commodore was very desirous of completing his business with these functionaries, who, judging from past experience, would probably be somewhat slow in all their movements, he sent his flag lieutenant on shore to propose an immediate interview. It was ascertained by this officer that the commissioners were out of town, but very soon after a message arrived, to the effect that they would return at once, and be in readiness to meet the Commodore the next day at noon.

The Commodore landed with a suitable escort on the next day, and was received at the temple by the commissioners, with the usual formal compliments. The two new members of the commission were presented by name and title as Tzudzuki, Suſaga no-kami, (prince of Suraga,) and Take-no-uchisetaro, comptroller of the revenues. The chief commissioner then stated that Simoda had been made an imperial city, and that Izawa, Prince of Mimasaki, and Tzudzuki had been appointed its governors, with Kura kawa kabai and Ise-sin toheiro as lieutenant-governors. In consequence of this new organization the commissioners declared that it would be necessary to establish certain boundaries to the city by means of walls and gates, in order to define the limits of the imperial jurisdiction, and asked whether the Commodore would object to the erection of such, with the understanding that the Americans should have the privilege of going where and when they pleased within them, and beyond them, on asking permission, which permission would always readily be granted. The Commodore replied that he had no desire to interfere with any plans of the government, provided they did not violate the stipulations of the treaty, and, reminding them that the Americans had a perfect right, guaranteed to them by that document, of moving unmolested within the limits of seven *li* or *ri*, said that, of course, he would leave what was beyond that distance to be governed by their own regulations. * It

* A *ri* is equal to 2,486 English statute miles. 6 feet is equal to 1 *ken*. 60 *kens* make 1 *choo*. 36 *choos* make 1 *ri*. The fans of the Japanese are of uniform size six of them making five English feet. They are used as measures recognised by the laws.

was then mutually agreed that three American officers should accompany the Japanese officers appointed to fix the boundaries, and regulate the erection of the walls and gates at Simoda. The Commodore, however, positively refused to consent that Americans should ask any permission of the Japanese officers, or of any one else, to go anywhere within the limits of the seven miles fixed by the treaty, they, of course, conducting themselves properly and peaceably.

The great discussion, however, was concerning the boundaries within which our countrymen might go at Hakodadi. These had not yet been settled at all. The Japanese wished to confine Americans within the city itself, but as the Commodore protested most strongly against this, the subject was postponed for future consideration. The commissioners having stated that a special place had been set apart for the burial of Americans, asked permission to have the body of the man buried at Yokohama removed to Simoda. This was granted, and a promise made that proper persons from the squadron should be selected to assist in the removal.

The suggestion of the Commodore that pilots and a harbor master be appointed was readily acceded to by the commissioners, who promised that suitable persons should be chosen and made acquainted with their duties. The conference then closed and was resumed on the following day, in the course of which the question again came up in regard to the limits at Hakodadi, but its settlement was, for the second time, postponed. A general conversation ensued over the refreshments with which the Japanese entertained their guests, in which the commissioners showed, by their enquiries, that lively interest which was uniformly exhibited among the educated classes in the events transpiring in different parts of the world. They were very curious to know something about the products and manufactures of the United States, and asked our views in regard to China and its revolution, and concerning the war between Russia and Turkey.

Another conference took place on the succeeding day, but without any definite result in regard to the limits at Hakodadi, although the question was discussed for several hours. An attempt was made by the commissioners to obtain the consent of the Commodore to a regulation prohibiting the Americans from remaining on shore after sunset, which was positively refused. Two (the newly appointed commissioners) had been chosen expressly to settle the question in regard to the comparative value of the Japanese and United States currencies, and Purser Spenden and Eldridge were selected by the Commodore to confer with them on that subject. An important result ensued, embodied in an interesting and valuable report made by those gentlemen to the Commodore.*

After a succession of daily conferences, which continued from the 8th to the 17th of June, a mutual agreement was finally adjusted on the latter day, in regard to the various disputed

* The following correspondence embraces the official action on this point.

UNITED STATES FLAG SHIP FOMHATAN Simoda June 12 1854

GENTLEMEN: You are hereby appointed to the duty of holding communication with certain Japanese officials delegated by the Imperial Government in conformity with the treaty of Kanagawa to arrange with officers alike delegated by me the rate of currency and exchange which shall for the present govern the payments to be made by the several ships of the squadron for articles that have been and are to be obtained also to establish as far as can be the price at which coal per person or ton can be delivered on board at this port of Simoda.

It is not to be understood that the rate of currency or exchange which may be agreed upon at this time is to be permanent on the contrary it is intended only to answer immediate purposes. Neither you nor myself are sufficiently acquainted with the parity and value of the Japanese coins to establish a fixed rate of exchange even if I had the power to recognize such arrangement.

It will however be very desirable for you to make yourselves acquainted with all the peculiarities of the Japanese currency

points of detail not specified in the treaty. These are embodied in the following additional regulations:

Additional regulations, agreed to between Commodore Matthew C Perry, special envoy to Japan from the United States of America, and Hayashi Daigaku-no-kami, Ido, Prince of Tsus-sima; Izaou, Prince of Mimusaki, Toudzuku, Prince of Saruga, Udono, member of the board of revenue; Tuke-no-uchi Sheitaro, and Matsusaki Michitaro, commissioners of the Emperor of Japan, on behalf of their respective governments

ARTICLE I.—The imperial governors of Simoda will place watch stations wherever they deem best, to designate the limits of their jurisdiction; but Americans are at liberty to go through

and also, if practicable, with the laws appertaining thereto, as the information will be valuable in facilitating all future negotiations upon the subject

I do will, of course, before entering into any agreement which may be considered binding, refer to me
Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. C. PERRY,

Commander-in-chief of the United States Naval Forces in the East India and China Seas

Purser WILLIAM SPEIDEN, United States Navy.

Purser J. C. ELDRIDGE, United States Navy.

UNITED STATES STEAM FRIGATE POWHATAN, Simoda, June 15, 1854.

Sir: The committee appointed by you, in your letter of the 12th instant, to confer with a committee from the Japanese to settle the price of coal to be delivered at this port, beg leave to report:

The Japanese committee, it was soon seen, came to the conference with their minds made up to adhere to the valuation they had already set upon our coins, even if the alternative was the immediate cessation of trade. The basis upon which they made their calculation was the nominal rate at which the government sells bullion when it is purchased from the mint, and which seems also to be that by which the metal is received from the mines. The Japanese have a decimal system of weight, like the Chinese, of catty, tael, mace, candareen, and cash, by which articles in general are weighed, but gold and silver are not reckoned above taels. In China, a tael of silver, in weight, and one in currency are the same, for the Chinese have no silver coin, but in Japan, as in European countries, the standard of value weight and that of currency weight differ. We were told that a tael weight of silver has now come to be reckoned, when it is bullion, as equal to 22 candareens, or 2 taels, 2 mace, 5 candareens, but, when coined, the same amount in weight is held to be worth 6 mace, 4 mace. It is at the bullion value that the government has decided to receive our dollar, the same at which they take the silver from the mines, asserting that, as its present die and assay give it no additional value, it is worth no more to them. In proportion to a tael a dollar weighs 7 mace, 1 1/2 candareen, which, at the rates of bullion value, makes it worth 1 tael, 6 mace, or 1,600 cash. Thus the Japanese government will make a profit of 66 2/3 per cent on every dollar paid them of full weight, with the trifling deduction of the expense of re-coining it. The injustice of this arrangement was shown, and the propriety of paying to the seller himself the coin we gave at this depreciated rate urged, but in vain.

For gold the rate is more, as the disparity between the value of bullion and that of coin, among the Japanese, is not so great. A tael weight of gold is valued at 19 taels in currency, and a mace at 1 tael, 9 mace. The gold dollar weighs almost 5 candareens, but the Japanese have reckoned it as the twentieth part of a \$20 piece, which they give as 8 mace, 8 candareens, and, consequently, the dollar is only 4 candareens, 4 cash. This weight brings the gold dollar, when compared with the tael of bullion gold worth 19 taels, to be worth 836 cash, and the \$20 piece to be worth 16,720 cash, or 16 taels, 7 mace, 2 candareens. Thus, when converted into a silver value, makes a gold dollar at 52 1/2 cents, when reckoned at 836 cash, its assessed value by the Japanese government, suffers the same depreciation as our silver, and its real value, when compared with the inflated currency in use among the people, is only about 17 1/2 cents. Consequently, by this estimate, gold becomes 50 per cent worse for us to pay in than silver. The currency value of a gold dollar, taking the ichibu as of equal purity, and comparing them weight for weight, is only 1,045 cash, or nearly 22 cents in silver, so that the actual depreciation on the part of the Japanese is not so great as silver—being for the two metals, when weighed with each other, for silver as 100 to 33 1/3, and for gold as 22 to 17. The elements of this comparison are not quite certain, and therefore its results are somewhat doubtful, but the extraordinary discrepancy of both metals, compared with our coins and with their own copper coins, shows how the government has inflated the whole monetary system in order to benefit itself.

The parties could come to no agreement, as we declined to consent to the proposals of the Japanese, who were decided to adhere to their valuation of a silver dollar at 1 tael, 6 mace, or 1,600 cash, neither would they consent to do justly by us in relation to the moneys paid them at this place before our departure for Hakodadi, at the rate of only 1 tael, 2 mace, or 1,200

them, unrestricted, within the limits of seven Japanese ri, or miles, and those who are found transgressing Japanese laws may be apprehended by the police and taken on board their ships.

ARTICLE II — Three anchoring places shall be constructed for the boats of merchant ships and whale ships resorting to this port, one at Simoda, one at Kikizaki, and the third at the brook lying southeast of Centro Island. The citizens of the United States will, of course, treat the Japanese officers with proper respect.

ARTICLE III — Americans, when on shore, are not allowed access to military establishments or private houses without leave, but they can enter shops and visit temples as they please.

ARTICLE IV — Two temples, the Kioshen at Simoda, and the Yokushen at Kikizaki, are assigned as resting places for persons in their walks, until public houses and inns are erected for their convenience.

ARTICLE V — Near the temple Yokushen, at Kikizaki, a burial ground has been set apart for Americans, where their graves and tombs shall not be molested.

ARTICLE VI — It is stipulated in the treaty of Kanagawa, that coal will be furnished at Hakodadi, but as it is very difficult for the Japanese to supply it at that port, Commodore Perry promises to mention this to his government, in order that the Japanese government may be relieved from the obligation of making that port a coal depot.

ARTICLE VII — It is agreed that henceforth the Chinese language shall not be employed in official communications between the two governments, except when there is no Dutch interpreter.

ARTICLE VIII — A harbor master and three skilful pilots have been appointed for the port of Simoda.

ARTICLE IX — Whenever goods are selected in the shops, they shall be marked with the name of the purchaser and the price agreed upon, and then be sent to the Goyoshi, or government office, where the money is to be paid to Japanese officers, and the articles delivered by them.

ARTICLE X — The shooting of birds and animals is generally forbidden in Japan, and this law is therefore to be observed by all Americans.

ARTICLE XI — It is hereby agreed that five Japanese ri, or miles, be the limit allowed to Americans at Hiodadi, and the requirements contained in Article I, of these Regulations, are hereby made also applicable to that port within that distance.

ARTICLE XII — His Majesty the Emperor of Japan is at liberty to appoint whoever he pleases to receive the ratification of the treaty of Kanagawa, and give an acknowledgment on his part.

cash to the dollar by which they had made a profit of 75 per cent on each dollar stating that the money paid them at the rate had passed out of their hands and moreover that the prices placed upon the articles furnished had been charged at reduced prices with reference to the low value placed upon the dollar.

For the amount due and unsettled for supplies received at Yokohama and on account of which Purser Eldridge paid Moyama Yenoske imperial interpreter \$300 a gold and silver that they might be assayed and tested at Yedo they consent to receive the dollar at the value on now placed on them that is at the rate of 1 600 cash for the silver dollar.

We carefully investigated the price of the coal to be delivered to vessels in this port. We learn that 10 000 catties or 100 piculs have arrived and that at the rate of 1 630 caities to a ton of 2 240 pounds or 16 430 piculs costs 262 taels 6 mace 5 candarins 3 cash or \$164 16 making thereas to be \$27 91 per ton. The Japanese state that the price of coal would be considerably reduced as the demand for it increased and the facilities for mining became more perfect.

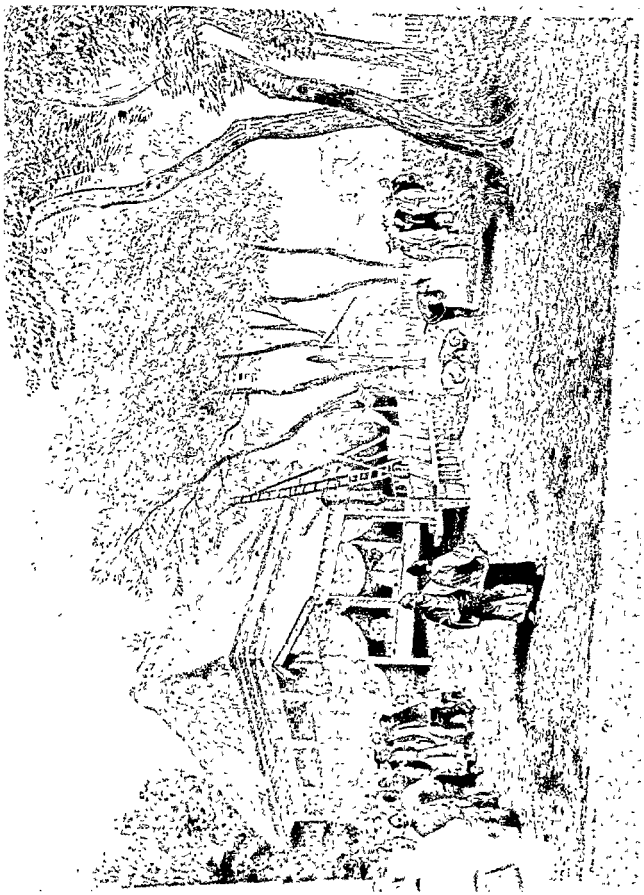
In conclusion we take pleasure in expressing our thanks to Messrs Williams and Portman whose services as interpreters were indispensable and from whom we received important aid in our investigations.

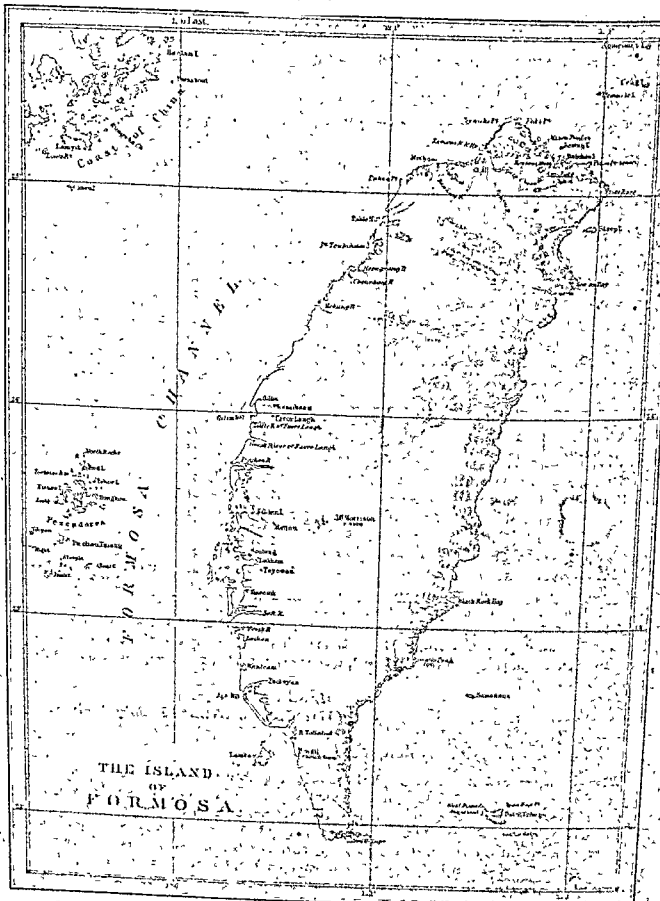
We have the honor to be respectfully your obedient servants

WILLIAM SPIDEN Purser United States Navy
J C LLDREDGE Purser United States Navy

Commodore M C PERRY

Commander in Chief of the United States Naval Forces in the East India and China Seas





FORMOSA COAL

Date	Hour	Steam pressure	Remarks	Date	Hour	Steam pressure	Remarks
1855 Dec 29	8 A M	16	Coal consumed 2 367 lbs	1855 Dec 31	8 A M	16	Coal consumed 3 036 lbs 40 cubic feet displaced for one ton of coal
	9 A M	14			9 A M	15	
	10 A M	13			10 A M	14	
	11 A M	12			11 A M	14	
	12 A M	13			12 A M	13	
	1 P M	14			1 P M	15	
	2 P M	16			2 P M	14	
	3 P M	13			3 P M	14	
	4 P M	14			4 P M	13	
	4 30 P M	14			4 30 P M	14	

JAPAN COAL

Date	Hour	Steam pressure	Remarks	Date	Hour	Steam pressure	Remarks
1856 Jan. 2	8 A M	14	Coal consumed 3 00 lbs	1856 Jan 3	8 A M	13	Coal consumed 3 615 lbs 37 cubic feet displaced for one ton of coal
	9 A M	13			9 A M	13	
	10 A M	13			10 A M	14	
	11 A M	13			11 A M	13	
	12 A M	14			12 A M	14	
	1 P M	13			1 P M	15	
	2 P M	15			2 P M	14	
	3 P M	14			3 P M	14	
	4 P M	14			4 P M	15	
	4 30 P M	13			4 30 P M	14	

"The Formosa coal burns freely, leaving but a small amount of ashes and scoria

"The Japan coal produces considerable scoria and ashes. The sample of this coal was taken from the out-croppings of the vein, and will, undoubtedly yield a much superior quality at a greater depth

"JESSE GAY, *Chief Engineer*

"WILLIAM E EVERETT, *Chief Engineer*

"Captain ABRAHAM BIGELOW,
"Commandant Navy Yard, New York."

"Whether the shrewd Japanese supplied an inferior quality to deceive their visitors, or whether from ignorance of the article and want of mining skill they innocently brought that which was inferior, cannot be certainly decided, but as good coal certainly exists in Japan, and as the natives not only use it, but, according to Von Siebold, know very well how to mine it, the probabilities are that they purposely furnished the poorest samples. When the Preble was at Nagasaki, and they saw the armorer on board at work at his forge, they pretended that they did not know what coal was, and actually took a piece on shore as a

curiosity, expressing, with well feigned astonishment, their surprise at seeing a "stone" that would burn. The coal that was obtained was charged at the enormous rate of about \$28 per ton, but the Japanese stated that the price would be probably much reduced as the demand for it increased, and their facilities for obtaining it improved. We are inclined to think, after a careful examination of the particulars of the interviews and conferences with them on all topics, that on no one subject did they misrepresent more unscrupulously than on that of coal. There is no doubt that they have an abundance, and some of it very good.

As the negotiations with the commissioners had now terminated, the Commodore prepared for his final departure, and accordingly was desirous of settling the accounts of the ships with the local authorities. Proper officers were accordingly sent on shore to receive from the governor a statement, with the prices of the various articles with which the squadron had been furnished.*

Among other accounts was a bill for spars, which had been ordered previous to leaving for Hakodadi, but upon investigation it was found that, although charged, they had not yet been prepared or delivered, and that even the trees from which they were to be made had not yet been cut down. The bazaar had also been opened for several days, and was supplied with the various articles of Japanese manufacture which the Americans desired to purchase and take home as memorials of the expedition. The prices charged, however, were so exorbitant that the Commodore was obliged to protest against the conduct of the authorities in this respect, and to rebuke them for the neglect, not to call it by a harsher term, in not having the spars ready, although they had been charged for as if furnished.

The protest and complaints of the Commodore having been laid before the governor, Prince Agawa, that functionary sent Moryama Yenoske, the interpreter, on board the flag ship with a respectful rejoinder to the effect that the prices of articles offered for sale in the bazaar had been arranged at Yedo, and that they were not above the usual market valuation. It was then explained by the flag lieutenant that, although the prices in Chinese "cash" might not appear exorbitant to the Japanese, yet that they were really so to the Americans, who were obliged to pay in dollars, at a depreciation much below their value. Moryama Yenoske explained the affair of the spars by declaring that he was responsible for what he was pleased to term the error, as he supposed that all the Commodore had asked for was the cost of spars, and did not understand that an order had been given for a supply of them. Subsequently, the Commodore

* The cost of the various supplies which are those ordinarily required by foreign vessels is here given as it may be of interest and value to future navigators.

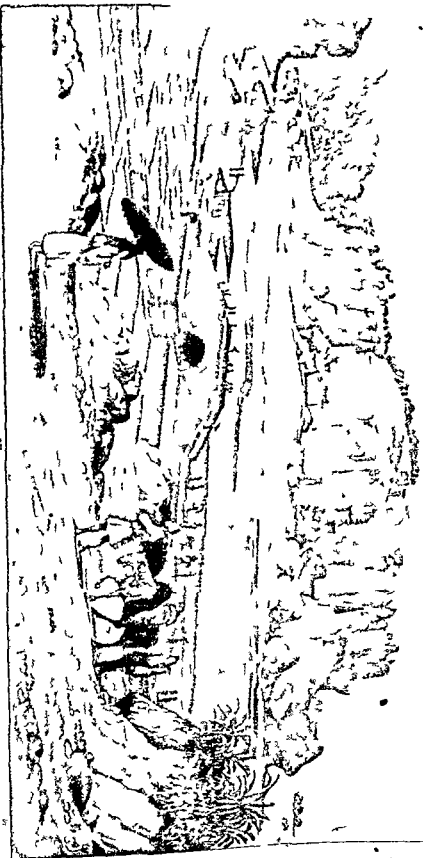
PRICES OF SUPPLIES AT SODA

	1,200 Cash = \$1		
Wood	\$6	Six fangs = 5 Ings. h f t	
Lags	7 for 10 cents	1 spar 82 fangs long diameter 1 ft 3 6 10 1 1/2	\$108 60
Chickens	39 cc a each	2 sps = 30 fangs 6 1/2 inches long diameter 8 1/2 inches	27 00
Fish	from 17 1/2 to 69 cents each	2 d to 3 fangs 7 1/2 inches long diameter 1 fan 2 8-10	1 6 10
Cray fish	3 1/2 cents each	2 d to 47 fangs 3 1/2 inches long diameter 8 1/2 inches	3 00
Ditto	11 1/2 cents per catty	2 d to 53 fangs 8 1/2 inches long diameter 8 1/2 inches	27 60
Calabags	18 cents per sack	2 d to 39 fangs 6 1/2 inches long diameter 6 1/2 inches	10 40
Radishes	12 1/2 cents per sack	2 d to 30 fangs long diameter 8 inches	20 00
Onions	39 cents per sack	1 d to 66 fangs long diameter 1 fan 1 2 10 inches	54 40
	10 cc a per sack	1 d to 44 fangs long diameter 7 1/2 inches	7 00
	(The sack holds a little more than an English bushel)	2 d to 43 fangs long diameter 8 1/2 inches	25 00
		2 d to 46 fangs long diameter 10 inches	19 00
		2 c to 1 fang 8 1/2 inches long diameter 7 1/2 inches	12 00
		2 d to 43 fangs long diameter 1 fan 1 2 10 inches	30 00
		2 d to 33 fangs long diameter 4 1/2 inches	1 10
		2 d to 33 fangs long diameter 1 fan 2 1/2 inches	163 00



and some of his officers went on shore and partook of a handsome collation, at the earnest solicitation of the commissioners, who, on the occasion, made an ample apology for the various errors and misunderstandings which had interrupted the friendly intercourse between the Americans and the authorities. The Commodore explained that it was a principle he had been contending for, and not the comparatively unimportant consideration of a few hundred dollars, more or less, as his government had placed ample means in his hands, and he was disposed to pay liberally for all he had, but neither the United States nor he were at all willing to be imposed upon. Moryama Yenoske, who was always the most active of all the officials, and was now the chief spokesman, said that the Americans might purchase any articles they pleased at their own valuation. This offer was, of course, rejected, and Yenoske then assumed, in behalf of himself and his fellow interpreter, Tatsnoske, the whole blame, not only in regard to the spars, but the exorbitant prices and all the other wrongs which had given rise to complaint. Indeed, these two worthy gentlemen seemed to be convenient mediums through which their superiors might render a vicarious expiation for their offences. They were ever ready to shoulder all the responsibility for anything wrong. Yenoske, however, was very civilly told that, although the Commodore could appreciate the self-sacrificing devotion with which he shouldered all the blame, yet that it was not a victim that was sought, but merely a correction of certain evil practices which, if not checked in the beginning, might lead to disaffection and serious quarrel. A perfect reconciliation then ensued, which was appropriately sealed by a present from the commissioners of a block of stone for the Washington monument, which was to be carried to the United States as a tribute from Japan to the memory of the great father of our republic. Nothing afterwards occurred to interrupt friendly relations, and frequent intercourse, which grew more and more intimate as the day of departure approached, took place with all classes on shore. Handsome presents were exchanged, and some choice articles of Japanese manufacture were received from the authorities as gifts for the President and for the officers of the ships. Among the gifts were three Japanese dogs, sent to the President. These were of the small spaniel breed, already alluded to, very highly esteemed in Japan, and purchasable only at a very large price. The Commodore succeeded in bringing them to the United States, and they now thrive at Washington. The Commodore obtained two for himself, one only of which reached the United States.

A few days previous to the departure of the Commodore, Moryama Yenoske, in company with several other officials, came on board the Powhatan to request that the Japanese "Sam Patch, of whom we have spoken, should be allowed to remain in Japan. They were told that the Commodore had no objection whatever to the man's remaining, if he wished, but that it must be by his own free will, and that the commissioners must give a written pledge that the man should not, in any way, be punished for his absence from Japan. Moreover, as he had suffered shipwreck, and had been thrown, by God's providence, on American protection, and had entered on board an American ship by his own choice, he was entitled to all the protection and security of an American citizen, consequently the Commodore could allow of no coercion being resorted to to make the man remain in Japan. The Japanese officials ridiculed the idea of his suffering any harm or hurt by his remaining in Japan, and said that the commissioners would cheerfully give any guarantee required that he should in no way be molested, but be allowed at once to return to his friends, who were very anxious to see him. Sam was now called up but all the eloquence and persuasiveness of the Japanese were insufficient to induce him to leave the



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